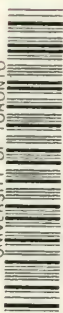


INDIA UNDER MUSLIM RULE

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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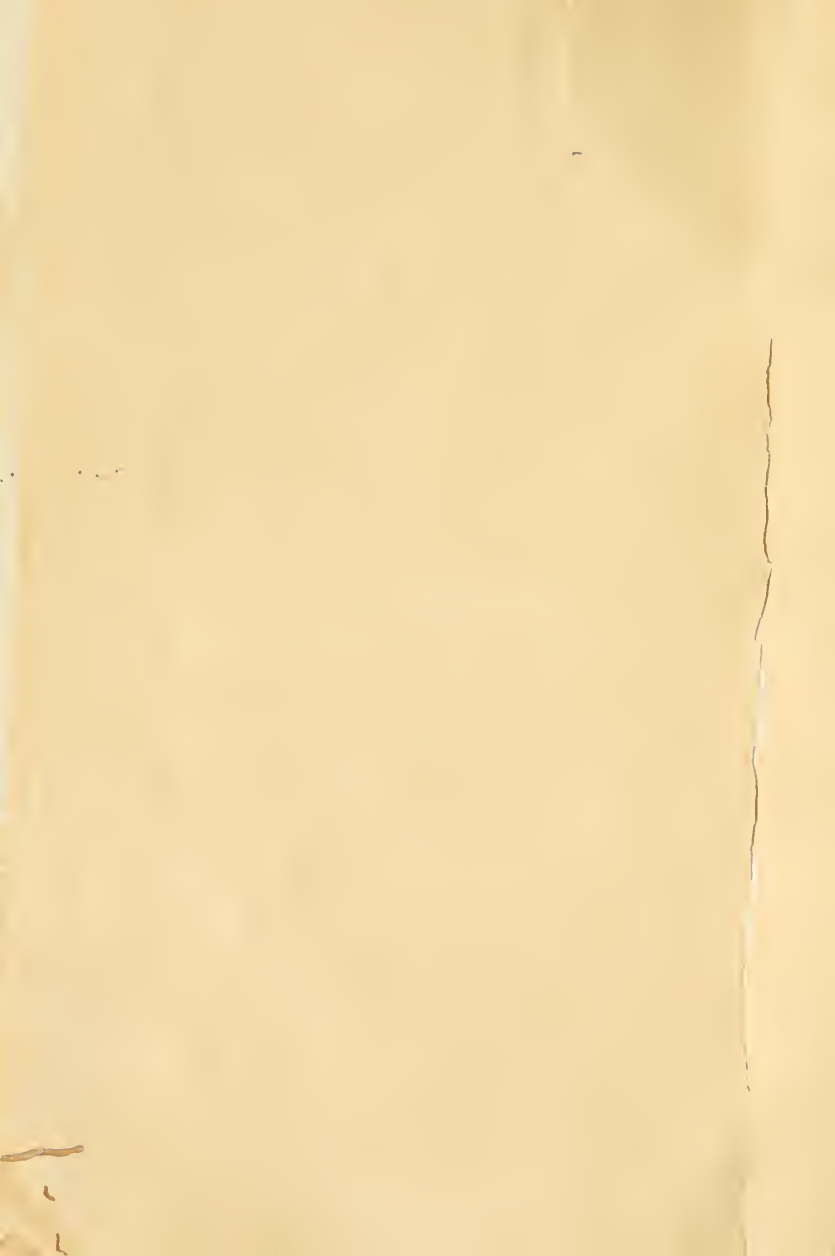
S. C. Basu

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INDIA UNDER MUSLIM RULE

S. C. Basu

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Errata Part I

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(ii)	16th.	right	vight
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4	9th.	Ghazni	Ghozni
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6	6th.	Khalji	Khalji,
6	21st & 26th	ওদন্তপুর	ওঁদন্তপুর
8	8th.	expeditions	expedetions
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PART I

(A. D. 1000—1296)

Turkish invasions and conquests :
The 'Slave' rulers of Delhi

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INTRODUCTION

The period which this part of the book deals with begins with 1000 A. D. when Sultan Mahmud of the Turkish House of Ghuzni started his invasions, and ends in 1296, when Alauddin Khalji seized the throne of Delhi. Alauddin Khalji sponsored the third phase in the expansion of Islam in India (the first phase was represented by Sultan Mahmud's conquest of the Punjab and the second by the Ghuri conquest of the rest of Northern India). His general, Malik Kafur, was the man who brought Southern India under muslim rule. Alauddin Khalji's reign may, therefore, well be regarded as a land mark in the history of India under muslim rule.

"This period.....has not yet been studied from India's point of view ; from the point of view of the trials she passed through ; of the sufferings she underwent when foreign elements forced their way into her life-blood ; of the manner in which she reacted to the situation ; of the means which she found to meet, or mitigate, the danger that confronted her ; of the

ways in which she reconstructed, achieved and fulfilled herself" (The Struggle for Empire, K. M. Munshi and R. C. Majumdar P. Vii).

① Sultan Mahmud could conquer only the Punjab, though he carried on raids beyond Kanauj to the East and to the Kathiwar coast in the South.

With the enormous wealth, which he secured from his plundering raids, he converted Ghazni into one of the most beautiful cities of the age.

M The Hindu Shahi dynasty which he displaced from the Punjab received a high tribute even from the muslim side. Albiruni remarks :

ny "They (the Shahis) in all their grandeur never slackened in their ardent desire to do that which is good and right. They were men of noble sentiments and noble bearing" (The Struggle for Empire, P. 17).

ny 24 0 ^ House of Ghazni, fired with the ambition of seizing the supreme authority. During an attack launched on Ghazni by one of the Ghuries

the "nemesis overtook it.....and the beautiful capital city, built on the ruins and plunder of India, perished in flames". (The Struggle for Empire, P. XIV). Ultimately Ghuri supremacy was established in the kingdom of Ghazni.

Its first Ghuri ruler Maizuddin Mahammad (also called Shahabuddin Mahammad) Ghuri started a new phase of expansion of Islam in India ; and between 1173 and 1203 the Ghuries became master of the whole of Northern India comprising the Punjab, the Uttar Pradesh including Oudh, Bihar and West and North Bengal. Of Mahammad Ghuri's campaigns, his two battles with the Chouhan king Prithiraja of Ajmer (in the first battle in 1191 Mahammad Ghuri had been defeated, in the second in 1192 Prithiraja was defeated) at Taraori, and his battle with the Guharvala king Joychandra of Banaras and Kanouj in 1194, at Chandeshwar (near Etawah) in which Joychandra was defeated and killed, have become memorable in Indian history. a/
w/
n/

When the kingdom of Ghazni, under Mahmud's successors, was passing through internal and external dangers, there were many opportunities for the Hindu kings to make concerted efforts to free the Punjab from muslim

rule ; but we find that they made only one such attempt, which did not produce any permanent result. In 1043 king Karna of the Kalchuri state of Dahala (Jabalpur region), king Bhoja of the Paramara state of Malwa, the Chouhan king Anahilla and several others formed a confederacy under the leadership of the Tomara king of Delhi to drive the Turks out of the Punjab. They freed Thaneswar, Hansi and Nagarkot. ⁶ they then invested Lahore (the seat of muslim viceroy of the Punjab) for seven months. They had to withdraw from Lahore but retained the other conquered places for some time and those places again fell into the hands of the Turks.

CHAPTER I

CHARACTER OF THE TURKISH INVASION'S AND CONQUESTS

Looting, indiscriminate massacres, raping of women, abductions of women and forcing them into unwilling marriage or concubinage, forced conversion to Islam, burning down temples and sacred cities, capturing men, women and children to be sold as slaves in the markets of Ghazni, Persia and Turkistan—these were the characteristic features of the Turkish invasions and conquests in India. ac/ r/ a/ c/

About massacres, we have the testimony of the contemporary muslim historian Utbi to the effect that in the days of Mahmud of Ghazni "the blood of the infidels flowed copiously and apostacy was often the only way of survival."

Wil Durani in his 'Story of civilisation' has observed: "The Mahammedan conquest of India was probably the bloodiest story in history." ch/

It is a discouraging tale, for the evident moral is that civilisation is a precarious thing whose delicate complex of order and liberty, culture and peace, may at any time be overthrown by barbarians invading from without or multiplying within."

(The Struggle for Empire, P. XV)

We will here give some illustrative incidents from the raids of Mahmud and from the invasions of Mahammad Ghuri. In 1011 Mahmud attacked the sacred city of Thaneswar. He plundered the city, and broke the idols except the principal one "which was carried to Ghazni and placed in a public square for defilement" (The Struggle for Empire P. 11). In 1013 after defeating the Shahi king Trilochan Pal (grand son of Jaipal) in a battle in the Punjab, Mahmud entered the Kashmir valley in pursuit of him. Mahmud plundered the region and forcibly converted a number of people to Islam. From this Indian expedition he carried such a large number of captives, who were sold as slaves in Ghazni, that the prices of slaves fell to very low levels there. "Men who occupied high positions in India were seen to serve the shopkeepers there as slaves" ('The Struggle for Empire', P. 12).

At the end of 1018, Mahmud invaded the sacred city of Mathura. He seized all the gold and silver idols, broke the other idols and ordered his soldiers to burn all the temples to the ground. The city was pillaged and burnt for twenty days. The gold and silver idols represented an enormous amount of wealth.

From Mathura Mahmud marched to Kanouj. He plundered that imperial city, broke the idols and massacred its inhabitants.

From these expeditions Mahmud secured untold riches and "took a large number of prisoners, rich and poor, so that Indian slaves became common throughout Persia and Turkistan." (Moreland and Chatterjee, A short history of India, P. 148).

After these expeditions, Mahmud built the famous Jami mosque and established a university, with a library containing books in various languages, and a museum at Ghazni.

In 1025 Mahmud attacked the famous temple of Somnath on the sea-shore in Kathiwar. The temple possessed vast wealth in the shape of gold, silver, pearls and jewels, the gifts of devotees accumulated for centuries. There was a vast gathering of Hindus to defend the temple. They bravely resisted the muslims for two days

but failed to repulse them and over fifty thousand Hindus sacrificed their lives in this engagement. The survivors who tried to escape by the sea "were pursued by the Mnslims and put to the sword." ('The Struggle for Empire,' P. 20).

Mahmud seized the vast wealth of the temple, broke the Siva-linga into pieces and completely destroyed the temple. The pieces of broken Siva-linga were carried to Ghazni and placed into the steps to the gate of the Jami mosque.

In view of the aforesaid doings of Mahmud, it is strange to find a body of Hindus rendering sustained service to him throughout his life. "Mahmud of Ghazni had a Hindu army corps under a Hindu general named Tilak. He took Tilak and his army to Ghazni to put down rebellious muslims." ('Glympses of world history', J. L. Nehru, P. 207).

When we consider the invasions and conquests of the Ghuries, we find a complete similarity of incidents between these and the invasions and conquest of Mahmud. When Mahammad Ghuri had been campaigning in the Chouhan frontier region of the Punjab a deputation of the vassal chiefs of Prithiraja waited on him at Ajmer to report that Mahammad Ghuri had 'burnt their

cities and defiled their women.' (The Struggle for Empire' P. 4.). After the second battle of Taraori, in which Prithiraja was defeated and made prisoner, Mahammad Ghuri marched to Ajmer with the captive king (where he was put to death), demolished the temples there and built mosques and Islamie colleges in their places.

In 1194 Mahammad Ghuri invaded the Gaharvala kingdom of Banaras and Kanouj. A battle was fought between the Gaharvalas and the muslims at Chandeswar (near Etawah) in which the Gaharvala king Jaychandra was defeated and killed.

Then followed seizure of the treasures of the Gaharvalas in different places, massacres, looting and destruction of temples. "One thousand temples are said to have been destroyed at Banaras alone and mosques raised in their places. (The Struggle for Empire, P. 119).

In 1197 Mahammad Ghuri's viceroy Kutabuddin Aibak invøded the Chalukya kingdom of Guzerat. In the fight that took place 50,000 Guzerati Rajputs were killed and 20,000 made prisoners ; the temples were defiled and destroyed and the palaces plundered. In 1203 Kutubuddin invaded the Chandella kingdom of Jejakabhukti (Bundelkhand). He "entered

their principal fortress of Kalinjar, plundered its wealth, enslaved its inhabitants and converted the temples into mosques." (Moreland & Chatterjee, A short history of India, PP. 150-151).

A year before, Kutabuddin's authorised agent, the free-lancer, Bakhtyar Khalji having overrun the greater part of Bihar, had entered Bengal; the king Lakshan Sen retired to East Bengal; and shortly afterwards Bakhtyar Khalji conquered the whole of West and North Bengal. The incidents of Bakhtyar Khalji's raids and conquests in Bihar and Bengal have been graphically described by Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri.

“.....ঘোর বন্যার ঝায় আফগান দেশ হইতে মুসলমানেরা আসিয়া উপস্থিত হইল। সে বন্যায় রাজা-প্রজা, বৌদ্ধ-হিন্দু, বজ্রযান—সহজযান, ঝায়-স্মৃতি, দর্শন-বিজ্ঞান সব ভাসিয়া গেল। বাঙ্গালী ও বিহারী শিল্পের ভাল ভাল জিনিষগুলি, বড় বড় অট্টালিকা, বড় বড় মন্দির, দেবমূর্তি, মনুষ্যমূর্তি, ক্রোধ-মূর্তি, শাণ্ডমূর্তি, তালপাতার পুঁথি, তেড়েতের পুঁথি, নানারূপচিত্র, নানারূপ কারুকার্য সব নাশ হইয়া গেল। ওঁদন্তপুরে মুসলমানেরা সিপাহী বলিয়া হাজার হাজার বৌদ্ধ ভিক্ষুকে মারিয়া ফেলিল, কেহ্না বলিয়া মহাবিহারটিকে সমভূম করিয়া দিল। বৌদ্ধমূর্তি ও যাত্রার সাজসজ্জা সব লুটিয়া লইয়া গেল; সোনারূপার জিনিষগুলি গলাইয়া ফেলিল; পুঁথিগুলি পুড়াইয়া ফেলিল। প্রতি বিহারে এইরূপ হইতে লাগিল। ওঁদন্তপুরের বিহার এখনও চেনা যায়, সে যায়গাটা এখনও ৩০ ফুট উচু;

নালন্দার নাম পর্য্যন্ত লোপ পাইয়াছে। পাশের একটি ক্ষুদ্র পল্লীগ্রামের নামে তাহার নাম হইয়াছে 'বড় গাঁয়ের টিবি'; বিক্রমশীলার সন্ধানও পাওয়া যায় না; জগজ্জল খুঁজিয়া মিলিতেছে না। বিদেশীরা এমনি করিয়া নষ্ট করিয়াছে যে তাহার স্মৃতি পর্য্যন্ত লোপ পাইয়াছিল। ভাগ্যে নেপাল ছিল, তিব্বত ছিল, তাই এত দিনের পর তাহাদের স্মৃতি আবার জাগিয়া উঠিতেছে; এবং ইংরেজ আমলে খুঁজিয়া খুঁজিয়া আমরা আমাদের পূর্ব গৌরবের ধ্বংসাবশেষ দেখিতে পাইতেছি।

পুণ্ড্রমিত্রের ঘোরতর হত্যাকাণ্ডেও যে ধর্মের কিছুমাত্র ক্ষতি হয় নাই, কুমারিল-শঙ্করের প্রাণপণ চেষ্টাতেও যে ধর্ম পূর্ব ভারতে অক্ষুণ্ণ ছিল, ব্রাহ্মণদের নিরন্তর বিদ্রোহ সত্ত্বেও যে ধর্ম চারিদিকে ছড়াইয়া পড়িতেছিল এক তুর্কী আক্রমণেই সে ধর্ম যে ধ্বংস হইল তাহা নহে, বিস্মৃতি-সাগরে ডুবিয়া গেল। লাভ হইল মঙ্গোলিয়ার, লাভ হইল তিব্বতের, লাভ হইল সিংহলের, লাভ হইল পূর্ব-উপদ্বীপের। তলোয়ারের মুখ হইতে যাহারা অব্যাহতি পাইয়াছিল তাহারা ঐ সকল দেশে গিয়া আশ্রয় লইল। তাহাদিগকে পাইয়া ঐ সকল দেশ কৃতার্থ হইয়া গেল। তাহাদের বিদ্যা বৃদ্ধি হইল, জ্ঞান বৃদ্ধি হইল, ধর্ম বৃদ্ধি হইল, শিল্প বৃদ্ধি হইল, ক্ষতি যাহা হইবার বাঙ্গালারই হইল। মুসলমানেরা জোর করিয়া অনেককে মুসলমান করিয়া ফেলিল। প্রায়ই দেখা যায় যেখানে বড় বড় বিহার ছিল, বিহারওয়ালারা অনেক নিষ্কর জমি ভোগ করিত। বিজেতারা সেই সকল জমি বাজেয়াপ্ত করিয়া লইয়া আফগান সিপাহীদিগকে ভাগ করিয়া দিল। ওদন্তপুর ও নালন্দার জমি লইয়া মল্লিক নামে এক মুসলমান কুলেরই উৎপত্তি হইয়াছে।

.....বিহারগুলি যে এইরূপে ধ্বংস হইল তাহা নহে, সেখানে মুসলমান আসিয়া বসিল এবং তাহারা অনায়াসে পাশের লোককে মুসলমান করিয়া ফেলিল। তাই আজ বাঙ্গলায় অর্ধেকের বেশী মুসলমান। (প্রাচীন বাঙ্গলার গৌরব, ৫৫-৫৬ পৃঃ)।

How could the Turks indulge in the kind of acts related above? The Turkish leaders who conducted expeditions to India were not savages. They had accepted not only the creed of Islam but also the culture of Islam as it came to them through Persia. The rulers were often patrons of literature and learning and cultivated men themselves. Mahmud, who did the greatest havoc in India, was not only a great general, perhaps the greatest general of the age, but also a great patron of learning. The fact that much of the enormous wealth he secured from plunder in India was devoted to building a University, with a well equipped library and a museum, at Gharni, is a clear proof that he was a man of culture. The key to the solution of the problem we have raised is to be found in the fundamental principles of Islamic polity. Originally, for the vanquished non-muslims (other than the Jews and Christians) the choice lay between embracing Islam and either death or slavery. If acceptance of Islam was refused

the adult males were put to death and women and children treated as booty. Subsequently muslim jurists came to the conclusion that the privilege enjoyed by the Jews and Christians, viz., that they would receive protection of the state if they paid a special tax called Jeziah, might be extended to other non-muslims; and for the first time, the extension was made in the case of the Hindus during the Arab conquest of Sindh. It is to be noted however, that the protection envisaged by the jurists covered only the life and property of the non-muslims; it did not cover their religious institutions and practices. This alone can explain why destruction of temples continued throughout the muslim rule except during the reign of Akbar and perhaps that of his ancestor Babar and his successor Jehangir. (We do not take into account the declining days of the Mughals.)

"To a sincere muslim of those days every Hindu temple, every wayside shrine, was an utter abomination to be desecrated as effectively as time might permit" (Moreland & Chatterjee, A short history of India, p. 146)

Even in regard to life and property, the Turkish invaders probably took the view that the new principle enunciated by the jurists

was a matter for settled administratson and not applicable during invasions and conquests.

The ravages of the Turks did not, it would appear, affect the traditional religious tolerance of the Hindu kings of the age. for we find that Jay Sinha Sidharaja, king of Guzerat (1094—1143), punished some of his subjects for interfering with the worship of muslims; yet Some Nath, which Mahmud had defiled and destroyed, existed in his dominion. (The Struggle for Empire P. XVI)

CHAPTER II

CAUSES OF THE COLLAPSE OF HINDU RULE

The current opinion is that because the country was divided into a ~~member~~ ^{n/4/} of independent states at variance among themselves, that because there was no ~~all~~ ^{af/} India Emperor at the time, the invaders did not meet with the kind of resistance that could stop their entry into the country or their advance in it.

But we find that many Indian chiefs were united in a confederacy ^{na/} at least on four occasions to confront the invaders. The first confederacy was formed to help the Shahi king Jai Pal in his second battle with Sabuktigin. On this occasion the Rajas of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalinjar (Bundelkhand) and many other neighbouring states joined the confederacy. The second Confederacy was formed in 1008 to help the Shahi king Ananda Pal (son of Jai Pal) when Mahmud invaded his territory. The third and fourth confederacy was formed to help Prithiraja respectively in his two battles at Taraori against Mahammad Ghuri.

In view of this fact and having regard to

the consideration that every one of the confederate kingdoms was greater both in money power and man power than the kingdom of Ghazni, we cannot say that lack of a common imperial power or of unity among the Hindu chiefs brought about down/fall of the Hindus.

What then was the cause or were the causes of this tragic event? For answer we have to depend entirely on the analysis given in the book. 'Struggle for Empire,' to which reference has been made more than once. A summary of the views expressed there is given below (PP. 125-128, P. 113, PP. PLV—XLVI, P. XIV).

(i) The Hindu kings and leaders of the period in question were obsessed with a vain pride in isolationism and insularity, thinking that they had nothing to learn from the outside world. Albiruni, a contemporary writer, refers to this attitude and points out^{or} that their ancestors had not been so narrow-minded. Consequently the Hindu kings could not comprehend the need for taking proper measures for frontier defence, in the light of the political changes and development of military arts that had taken place in the outside world, and in accordance with which the Turks had planned their military organization. This pride in their

supposed superiority over all the other peoples of the world had, in the last analysis, been bred by the social system, which divided the people into a number of privileged classes and others whose business of life was to minister to the needs of the privileged classes.

(ii) Actuated by false ideals of Kshatriya chivalry, the Indian princes often found ostensible causes for entering into conflicts with one another and thus paralysed themselves. This internecine conflict could go so far as to result in an attack by one Hindu prince on the territory of another when the latter was involved in a struggle against the Muslims. Thus we find that just when the Chalukya kingdom of Guzerat was in a grave peril due to an attack by muslims in the north, it was invaded by the Yadavas in the south.

(iii) A vast amount of the wealth of the country was spent in building and making gifts to temples which were in most cases unprotected. Yet it was the accumulated fabulous wealth of the temples that invited foreign invasions. If this wealth had been appropriated for defence purposes it would have enabled adoption of adequate measures for resisting the invaders.

(iv) The Indian princes paid no heed to

repeated warnings of the past. Their ignorance of the happenings in the outside world and consequent failure to take proper measures for defence might be excused in the case of the first phase of the Turkish invasions under Mahmud, not to speak of the Arab conquest of Sindh; but there could be no excuse for their failure to adopt adequate defence measures against the subsequent Turkish onslaughts under Mahammad Ghuri. Since a century and a half had elapsed between the two phases of the Turkish invasions the Indian princes had sufficient time to put their house in order. u/

(v) The Indian princes exhibited the strange defect in their fight against the muslims that they were always on the defensive. Consequently a muslim army even when it was defeated could escape destruction if only it could leave the battlefield. In the first battle of Taraori Prithiraja had defeated Mahammad Ghuri who was also seriously wounded. Prithiraja ought to have pursued his wounded adversary and try to eliminate muslim rule from the Punjab. Not only did he not do this but he returned to Ajmer without making a proper arrangement for defending his north-west frontier.

"The haze of glory in which Prithiraja lives

in Indian memory is considerably dimmed if one realises the effect of his failure to take full advantage of his great victory at Taraori (in the first battle) for removing the imminent danger which involved him and his country in a common ruin within a year". ('The Struggle for Empire P. X L Vi)

(vi) To the causes stated above we must add the cases of treason and treachery among the ministers and other officials, which were not rare.

We have so far considered the problem of downfall of the Hindus from the side of the kings and leaders. But what about the masses ? We find no mass upheaval when the country is being devastated by forligners. The reason ^{e/i/} is that their degradation to low levels in the social organisation had made them not only indifferent to such happenings but inclined to take them to be inevitable. "Their voice had been hushed in silence (and their mind atrophied) by a religio-social tyranny" (The Struggle for Empire, 127).

CHAPTER III

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

In the preceding discussion attention has been drawn to those traits in the character of the Hindu kings and leaders that brought about collapse of the Hindu rule. It must however be emphasized that, barring a few exceptions, no Hindu king or leader, not even the members of his family, showed lack of courage in the face of the muslim invasions. In many cases warriors defied the invaders for months and years, and sacrificed their lives for protecting freedom. Large numbers of women often burnt themselves to save their honour. Parents often threw their children into wells to save them from slavery. There was always a revolt in one place or another throughout the areas of Turkish military operations. These regions might, therefore, well be called areas of resistance.

Outside the areas of Turkish operations, there were great Hindu kingdoms covering considerable part of the North and the whole of the South in which Hindu life and culture

continued their course undisturbed. The rulers promoted art, literature and learning and patronised poets. They gave grants of land to the poor and worthy institutions and constructed beneficial public works.

In the North the Kalchuri kingdom of Dahala (Jabalpur region), the Chandella kingdom of Jejakabhukti (Bundelkhand) the Paramara kingdom of Malwa and Chalukya kingdom of Guzerat girdled the areas of Turkish operations. The Chandellas constructed many lakes and reservoirs which are still irrigating the agricultural land in that region. The Paramara kings in Malawa also constructed lakes for irrigation, which are still serving their purpose. Some of the Parmara kings acquired fame as authors and patrons of learning ; one of them, Bhoja, is also known as a model king.

In the South, the Chalukyas, the Yadavas, the Kakatyas, the Hoysalas, the Cholas and, later the Pandyas ruled over flourishing kingdoms. The most powerful of all these kingdoms was the Chola kingdom of Tanjore. It attained its most glorious period under Rajaraja and his son Rajendra Chola. The Cholas built a navy, which controlled the Bay of Bengal, and established a colonial empire comprising the

Nicobar Islands, the Malaya Peninsula and Sumatra. They established colleges for sanskritic studies, medical schools and hospitals. Under their patronage works were written, which are considered valuable, in Philosophy, Drama, music and dancing.

“During this age, therefore inspite of the ravages of the Turks, India was still the land of great achievements”. (The Struggle for Empire, PI XXI)

CHAPTER IV

A NOTE ON COLLAPSE OF THE SEN RULE IN WEST AND NORTH BENGAL

Though the story of the conquest of Nadya, as narrated by Minhazuddin, is now discredited and it is considered reasonable to assume that there must have been a fighting, in which Lakshan Sen had been defeated, before Bukhtyar Khalji occupied Nadya, it is admitted on all hands that Lakshan Sen had not adopted proper measures for defence of his western frontier and offered no opposition to Bakhtyar's repeated raids in in that region before he entered Bengal. Lakshan Sen's failure in providing for defence of his frontier justifies the view that his arrangement for defence of Nadya was inadequate and that Bakhtyar Khalji did not meet with a formidable resistance before he captured that city.

What could possibly be the reason for this evident indifference of the king? A plausible answer to the question is that Lakshan Sen had a deliberate plan of leaving west and north Bengal and concentrating his resources in east and south Bengal. In this connection it is to

be borne in mind that the Sena kings, like their predecessors the Palas, had a number of capitals, and they were Lakshnapati in North Bengal and Vikrampur (as distinguished from Vikrampur Parganah) and Sonargaon in East Bengal; Nadya though it was virtually their principal capital for many years, was never formally recognised as such.

We are now to consider the question why Lakshan Sen should have had decided to withdraw to east Bengal. The Sen kingdom was in a state of disintegration at the time of the muslim invasion of Bengal and a portion of the kingdom, Khadi-Mandal (in 24 Parganas), had already seceded and formed an independent kingdom under the leadership of one Domman Pal, who evidently belonged to a so-called lower class and might have been a Buddhist. ay

What could possibly be the cause or causes of this disintegration? The indigenous Buddhist Pal dynasty which had preceded the Senas with their liberal social and political outlook had endeavoured to build a state based on unity and equal opportunities for all classes of the people and brought a golden age in Bengal. The Varmans, the Gangas, the Kalchuries, the Chalukyas—these Southern and half-Southern

orthodox dynasties undermined the Pal authority by repeated attacks on its territory with the result that the Pal kingdom disintegrated; most of Bihar fell to the orthodox Gaharvalas of Banaras, Mithila became an independent state under Nanyadera of Karnatak, an officer of the Palas, Bengal fell to the rebel Sen family of Radha which had also come from Karnatak and accepted service under the Palas.

The Senas, by introducing the strict rules of Southern Hinduism, demolished the liberal social and political structure that had been developed by the Palas and thus provoked conflicts among their subjects.

That the repeated and almost concerted attacks on the Pala kingdom by the orthodox powers had a religious background is evidenced by the following observations.

"The anti-Budhist propaganda carried on by Gabardhan, father of Bhatta Bhabadeva, in East Bengal was probably responsible for persecution of Budhists by the Vanagala army (of Jatavarman) in Varendra (North Bengal)."

"Harivarman's minister of peace and war, Bhatta Bhabadevr, who had the curious epithet of Bala-Ballava-Bhujanga, rose against Budhi-

sm and enhanced Brahmanical religion." ('The Struggle for Empire' PP. 34-35)

From the above considerations it can be seen that the Sena rule in Bengal was the culmination of a persistent orthodox movement carried on against the liberal government of the Palas and in the new regime the so-called lower classes, being again subjected to many disabilities were disaffected against it. But the social system promulgated by the Senas had not yet taken such a deep root in East and South Bengal as it had done in West and North Bengal. Consequently the popular discontent in east and south Bengal was not so bitter as in West and North Bengal; and in West Bengal, as we have seen, there had already been a successful revolt when Bakhtyar Khalji invaded Nadya. In this circumstance Lakshman Sen probably thought it wise to abandon West and North Bengal and apply all his resources in defending East and South Bengal.

CHAPTER V

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TURKS OF THE 11TH CENTURY AND THOSE THAT HAD COME BETWEEN THE FALL OF THE MAOURYA AND RISE OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

The central Asian hordes that had invaded and conquered many regions in India between the fall of the Mourya and rise of the Gupta Empire had also belonged to the Turkish stock. But they had completely merged themselves among the indigenous people and left no distinctive marks on the history of the country. "The names of the foreign rulers were Indianised as time went on : among the Saka Satraps we find such purely Hindu names as Rud^hadamaⁿna and Satya Sinha ; and while earlier Kushans bore foreign names, we come in due course to a Vasudeva. Kanishka and Hovishka, again, patronised Buddhism which they found in their dominions ; but the coins of Vasudeva, the next ruler, are characterised by the figure of the great Hindu god Siva, accompanied by the appropriate emblems, and it is hard to resist the inference that he was, in substance, a Hindu" (Moreland & Chatterjee, A short history of India, P-82).

The result of this merger was that the later generations could not see that they were under foreign rule. "It is true that these foreign tribes were Hinduised soon after they settled in India. But the fact can scarcely be contested that the political power of the country was monopolised by these foreigners (except during the Sunga and the Gupta period) uptill the advent of the Mahammedans" (D.R. Bhandarkar, 'Asoka').

But the later Turkish invaders not only formed a seperate unit but also drew into their fold a considerable number of the Hindus. Henceforth the people became divided into two seperate units on the basis of differences in religious affiliation, culture and soial practices. and "it does not require a moment's thought to draw a clear line between the Hindu and muslim population, even though more than seven hundred years (in the case of Sindh, twelve hundred years) have elapsed since the muslims first settled in the country. Nor can we reasonably visualise a period when this difference will cease to exist." (The Struggle for Empire, P. 398).

The basis of this difference was noted by Albiruni at the very begining of the period we

are dealing with : "The Hindus entirely differ from us in every respect. We believe in nothing in which they believe and vice-versa." (The Struggle for Empire, P. XLIV).

The term Hindu itself, in its present connotation, came into use after the advent of the muslims. Indians had never called themselves by this name before that event. The term had originally been used by foreigners of the West to denote the region round the Sindhu river and then the whole of India. Thus, before the muslim conquest, Hindu was merely a geographical term. The muslims started using it in the sense of all the people of India, as distinguished from the muslims. The muslims did not make any distinction between the Buddhist, Jains and followers of the other creeds that existed among the indigenous people. "Historically, therefore, Hindu really signifies the aggregate peoples in India and their culture and religion, as distinguished from muslims. The common use of the term Hindu as opposed to Buddhist, Jaina and follower of any other religious sect in pre-muslim India is therefore quite erroneous." (The Struggle for Empire Page 399)

Though the Hindus and muslims formed distinct and separate units of the population,

even during the period we are dealing with the Hindus could not altogether avoid the impact of Islam. In order to prevent muslim ways of life getting into their society, they adopted stringent rules which stood in the way of their progress.

CHAPTER VI

THE 'SLAVE RULERS' AND THE HINDUS

"They (the 'slave' rulers) were pretty fierce and conquest and destruction of buildings and libraries and terrorisation went together." ('Glympses of world history,' J. L. Nehru, C-2, p. 212)

But Razia, the only queen in the history of the muslims in India, did not, it would appear, indulge in such activities. Hindus should have admired her energy, enterprise and courage, and deeply regretted her tragic end at the hands of a band of Hindu robbers.

Nasiruddin Mahmud set the unique example of a monarch earning his living by his own labor, and as such his name is of perennial interest to Hindus as well as to Muslims.

Balban was the monarch who destroyed Hindu independence in East Bengal, which had been maintained for about a century after Bakhtyar Khalji's conquest of Nadya. This event was undoubtedly a glorious one to the Muslims but a great tragedy to the Hindus.

CHAPTER VII

A GREAT HINDU KING OF THE AGE

Narasinha I of the Ganga dynasty ascended the throne of Kalinga and Utkal (Orissa) in A. D. 1238. His reign is considered to be a glorious period in Orissan history. His special position in Indian history has been determined by the fact that he was one of the few Hindu kings who, instead of being always on the defensive in their struggle against muslims, chose to make efforts to dislodge them from their conquered possessions and restore Hindu rule therein.

In 1243 Narasinha led an expedition to Bengal to root out muslim rule therefrom. Delhi's vassal sultan of West and North Bengal, Tughril-Tughal Khan, himself led the muslim forces against Narasinha. After defeating the muslims in two successive battles, Narasinha became master of Radha (West Bengal), and muslim rule was completely eliminated from that region. Narasinha then invaded Varendra (North Bengal) and succeeded in reaching the capital city Lakshuavati itself; the city was besieged and Tughril Tughal Khan and his

'forces were confined in the fort. Bengal was thus practically freed from muslim rule. Just at this juncture a joint muslim army led by two Governors arrived in Bengal, under instructions from Delhi, in response to an appeal that had been sent by Tughril Tughan Khan.

Narasinha did not think it prudent to face this new army and retreated to Radha. Radha remained under Narasinha's control, being administered by an Orissan Governor with his head quarters at Mandaran (Arambagh-Hooghly.) y/

At the end of 1253 Yuzbak, the new vassal Sultan of Varendra, attempted to reconquer Radha. Three battles were fought between the muslims and the Orissan forces, and Yuzbak was defeated and repulsed. At the end of 1255 Yuzbak, with assistance received from Delhi, succeeded in reconquering Radha.

Narasinha had held Radha for more than a decade. This achievement "entitles him to a high place of honour among the Hindu kings of Northan India during this age. He also earned an undying fame by building the magnificent Sun Temple at Konarak." (The Struggle for Empire, p. 208)

"At Konarak the extraordinary genius of the architect and the sculptor combined to raise

a sanctuary in honour of Sun god, the illuminator of the universe. Even in its ruins it illumines India and her art, and shines forth throughout the world as a momentous creation, of human endeavour. When entire, the temple must have been one of the most exquisite proportioned monuments ever known.....Everything is ordered and balanced and the entire monument vibrates with a rythm and grandeur unique in the world" (The Struggle for Empire, pp. 553-554.)

Errata Part II

Wrong insertion of the heading "Turkish" invasions
and Conquests: the 'Slave rulers of Delhi' in the
contents—page to be ignored.

Page	Line	Read	Instead of
(i)	4th.	Delhi,	Delhi
(i)	19th.	exactions	ecactions
(i)	22nd.	establish	stablish
1	4th.	conquering	concuring
2	13th.	and	an
10	5th.	‘ইতিহাস’	‘ইতিহাস
10	24th.	করিয়াছিল	করিয়াছিলেন
11	9th.	set up	set-up
12	5th.	Rajputna— Mewar	Rajputna Mewar
15	15th.	independent	indpent
16	18th.	“Paes.	Paes
17	8th.	King	King.



PART II

(A. D. 1296—1556)

Turkish ~~invasions~~ and conquests:—

The ~~'Slave' rulers of Delhi.~~

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INTRODUCTION.

21 This part of the book deals with the period which begins with 1296, when Alauddin Khalji seized the throne of Delhi and ends in 1556 when Akbar occupied it. During this period the Turkish State, which had been initiated by Kutabuddin Aibak and reached its zenith under Alauddin Khalji, disintegrated as a result of a series of reckless measures indulged in by Mahammad Tughlak. What remained of the Turkish state after Mahammad Tughlak's death was shattered to pieces by Timur. The Delhi territory was now virtually in the possession of armed bands of robbers. "In fact robbery was the only profession which offered reasonable prospects to a man of enterprise" (Moreland and Chatterjee, A Short History of India, P. 180). 24

22 The Sayyids, far from trying to rebuild the state, aggravated the anarchy by resorting to forcible exactions from the already heavily taxed peasants. 25

23 In the midst of this chaos, Bahlol Lodi made heroic efforts to establish some sort of law and order.

Sikandar Lodi, though a fanatic and a hater of Hinduism and the Hindus, was not lacking in ability. But Ibrahim alienated the powerful

Afghan nobles and thus paved the way for his own destruction and that of the dynasty.

Babar would have come even if he had not been invited; the invitation did not mean much for ultimately he had to depend on his own resources.

The failure of Sangrama Singha and his confederates at Khanua was due to relying on numbers and ignoring the new technique of warfare which was well exhibited at Panipat in the shape of Babar's guns. It is passing strange that Indian princes always failed to take note of the development of military art throughout their struggle with the Muslims from Taraori to Talikot.

The displacement of Mughal authority by Sher Shah (even for a while) was all for the good; he offered a model for administration which even Akbar found useful.

While the North was witnessing the panorama of Muslim political adventures, in the South, Vijayanagar became the centre alternately of hope and frustration of the Hindus.

CHAPTER I

THE LATER SULTANS OF DELHI AND THE HINDUS.

Alauddin Khalji's "consuering army burnt villages, devastated the land, plundered people's wealth; took Brahmans, children and women of all castes captive and flogged them with thongs and raw hide; carried moving prisons and converted the prisoners into obsequious Turks". (The Struggle for Empire, K. M. Munshi & R. C. Majumdar; P. XVI).

In implementing his price control measures he required merchants to "deposit their wives and children as security for their conduct, and these pledges were settled close to Delhi in charge of a superintendent." (Moreland and Chatterjee, A short history of India, P. 166).

In order to destroy the power and influence of Hindu men of position he used the weapon of economic pressure. All on a sudden he abolished the zemindari system, where it existed, without compensation and introduced direct assessment and collection of land revenue at an exorbitant rate, so that the peasants could not pay anything to the Zemindars. The Zeminders fell into extreme distress, and many ladies of the Zeminder families

had to work as slaves in Muslim houses to ward off starvation.

“The chronicler gloats over the improverishment which in fact resulted.” (Moreland & Chatterjee, A short history of India, P. 164).

When Guzerat was conquered by Alauddin Khalji, the wife of the king of Guzerat, Kamala Devi, was seized and compelled to have a place in Alauddin's harem. Subsequently the king's daughter Devala Devi was also seized and had to take a place in the same harem along with her mother.

“Intensely ambitious and entirely unscrupulous, cruel, treacherous and an evil liver, Alauddin stands out as one of the most repulsive characters in Indian history. But of his strength there can be no question. His reign of twenty years was a reign of terror, it was also a reign of triumphs for himself.” (Moreland & Chatterjee, A short history of India, P. 162).

Alauddin Khalji's General Malik Kafur, a converted Hindu and one of the greatest army commanders in India of the time, brought South India under Muslim supremacy.

During the reign of Alauddin's son Mubarak Shaha, Harapal Deva, the Yadava raja of Devagiri revolted. On Mubarak's orders his skin was taken off.

Gyusuddin Tughlak “stands out as the

pleasantest figure in the line of the Turkish kings, equally successful as soldier and as ruler, a man who thought of his troops first and his peasants next." (Moreland & Chatterjee, *A short history of India*, P. 167).

He restored the Hindu Zemindars, who had been displaced by Alauddin Khalji, to their old position and reduced the revenue-dues of the peasants in the areas under direct rule of the Sultanate.

Mahammad Tughlak made an unbearable increase in the revenue dues of the peasants.

The peasants started giving up their holdings, migrating to other places or taking to other occupations.

"Mahammad regarded the peasants as rebels, led his army against them, slaughtered them like sheep and desolated the whole region which naturally remained unproductive." (Moreland & Chatterjee, *A short history of India*, P. 169).

Feroz Tughlak's mother was a Hindu lady of Rajput parentage. When Feroz's father proposed the marriage, the lady's parents did not agree and the result was that their territory was devastated. In order to save her parents and the family possessions the lady voluntarily offered herself for the marriage. ('Glympses of World history', P. 254),

Though son of a Hindu mother Feroz Tughlak

a / was a fanatical Muslim. At the end of an unsuccessful campaign against the rebel ruler of Bengal, he proceeded to Orissa (then known as Jaznagar); the Orissan King could not repulse him; he entered Puri, desecrated the Jagannath temple and threw the images into the sea.

The first half of his reign was beneficial to the people, because government was really in the hands of his minister Makbul, a Brahmin convert to Islam. During Makbul's administration perfect peace and order prevailed throughout the Sultanate dominion, the dues of the peasants were reduced, the region that had been devastated by Mahammad Tughlak was brought under cultivation and ample supplies at low prices were available at the Capital.

“After twenty years the scene changed; Makbul died. The tradition of this short golden age still lingers vaguely in the villages of northern India.” (Moreland & Chatterjee, A short history of India, P.P. 170—171).

The Sayyids were thoroughly incompetent. c / They did not care to maintain any administrative machinery, any policing arrangement. When money was needed troops were sent to the villages, and they extracted from the peasants as much as they could, although they had been paying their regular dues to the Hindu chiefs or the Muslim governors as the case might be

The destruction of independence of the muslim state of Jaunpur by Bahlol Lodi was a misfortune.

“For nearly 100 years it (Jaunpur) was a great seat of culture and toleration in religion, one of the rulers even tried to bring about a sythesis between Hindus and Muslims. Art and fine buildings were encouraged and so were the growing languages of the country, Hindi and Bengali.” (“Glymps of world history, J. L. Nehru,” P. 254).

Sikendar Lodi was a fanatical Muslim. He is credited with forcible conversion of Hindus and defilement and destruction of temples at Mathura.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY MUGHALS, SHER SHAHA AND THE HINDUS

Babar had to face a formidable combination of the rulers of Rajputna under the leadership of Rana Sangha (Sangram Singha) of Mewar, who marched towards Agra with a view to eliminating Muslim rule from India. Rana Sangha had negotiated with Babar and promised to help him should he decide to invade India. But Rana Sangha did not fulfil his promise; and now, when Babar had succeeded single-handed in displacing the Lodis, Rana Sangha with his allies turned against him.

Babar took the field in person. A battle was fought at Khanua, forty miles west of Agra, in March 1527, and the Rajputs were completely defeated, many Rajput princes were killed; Rana Sangha himself was seriously wounded.

The Rajput forces were 7 or 8 times more numerous than those of Babar. But Babar had a number of guns which the Rajputs did not possess, and the guns decided the issue.

Why had Rana Sangha invited Babar to invade India?

Sikandar Lodi's anti-Hindu activities and Ibrahim Lodi's tyrannical rule moved the princes of Rajputna to make concerted efforts to destroy Muslim rule in India. Rana Sangha as leader of the movement conceived the idea of setting Babar against Ibrahim, with a view to weakening both; and when that would happen, the confederate armies of Rajputna should be able to drive the Mughals as well as the Afghans out of India.

"Babar was one of the most cultured and delightful persons one could meet. There was no sectarianism in him, no religious bigotry; and he did not destroy as some of his ancestors used to do." ('Glimpses of World history,' P. 303). c/

"Sher Khan was one of the most remarkable men who ever ruled in India".

"The main roads were equipped with walled rest-houses where merchants and travellers could halt in safety. Nor were the amenities of life neglected; shade-giving trees were planted along the roads; supplies of drinking water were provided; and, speaking generally, the reign of Sher Shaha was marked by a great bureaucratic development in which the central authority concerned itself actively with the lives of its individual subjects.

Sher Shaha listened to all complaints and is credited by the chroniclers with a strong sense of

justice as well as a taste for drastic punishments; it is reasonable, therefore, to infer that oppression was kept in check by fear of his wrath, and that his rule was on the whole beneficial to his subjects." (Moreland & Chatterjee, A short history of India, P. 206 and P.P. 208—209).

CHAPTER III

BENGAL IN THE DAYS OF THE SULTANATE

Raja Ganesh, a landlord of Dinajpur, became very powerful at Gour Durbar and ultimately seized the throne of Gour (1412). Thus after two hundred years of Muslim rule (in the case of East Bengal, one hundred years), during which Hindus had to go through a state of terror, Hindu independence was re-established in Bengal (though for a time), resulting in an outburst of cultural activities in the Hindu society, which had become half-dead under the impact of Islam.

3/ Raja Gnanesh was succeeded by his son Jadu who after accepting Islam assumed the name Jalaluddin. But he followed the foot-steps of his father and promoted Hindu cultural revival in the same way as his father had done. Jadu and his son along with Raja Ganesh ruled Bengal for 30 years, and with the death of the last one at the hands of a Muslim assassin the rule of the dynasty came to an end.

চতুর্দশ শতকের শেষে রাজা কংশ (গনেশ) যখন গোড় অধিকার করিলেন, তখন হইতে বাঙ্গালীর সংস্কৃতি ও সাহিত্যের পুনরুদ্ভূত হয়। পঞ্চদশ শতকের প্রথম ভাগে রাজা কংশ ও তৎপুত্র যজ্ঞ কবি পণ্ডিতের

সম্বন্ধনা ও পোষকতা না করিলে বাঙ্গলা সাহিত্যের পরিণাম অগ্র রকম হইত। যহু বিশেষ বিদ্যোৎসাহী ছিলেন। রাষ্ট্রীয় ব্রাহ্মণ বৃহস্পতি তাঁহার নিকট বিশেষ সম্বন্ধনা লাভ করিয়াছিলেন (‘বাঙ্গলা সাহিত্যের ইতিহাস, প্রথম খণ্ড, সুকুমার সেন, ৬১-৬২-৬৭-৬৯ পৃঃ)।

Hindu cultural activities were also promoted during the reign of Alauddin Hossain Shaha. This was due to the influence of the Hindu officers of Hossain Shahá like Rupa and Sanatan Goswami, Keshava Chhatri, Shuvaraj Khan, Jassoraj Khan .

Of the two brothers Rupa and Sonatan one held the office of the Chief Secretary and the other of the Private Secretary. They not only promoted Hindu cultural activities but were two of the principal collaborators of Sri Chaitanya in the propagation of the Vaishnavic faith.

The outstanding event of Hossain Shaha's reign and in the history of mediaeval Bengal was the advent of Sri Chaitanya.

“শ্রীচৈতন্যের প্রভাবে বাঙ্গালী ঘরের কোন ছাড়িয়া সমগ্র ভরতবর্ষের দৃষ্টি পথে আসিয়া দাড়াইল। পূর্বে বাঙ্গালী যে সব প্রদেশ হইতে শিক্ষা ও সংস্কৃতি লাভ করিয়াছিলেন, এখন বাঙ্গালী সেই সব প্রদেশবাসীকে নিজের অপূর্ব অনুভূতির অংশীদার করিয়া সমধিক মর্যাদা লাভ করিল। বাঙ্গালীর ইতিহাসে ইহা অপেক্ষা শ্রেষ্ঠ ঘটনা আর কি ঘটিয়াছে?” (বাঙ্গলা সাহিত্যের ইতিহাস, প্রথম খণ্ড, সুকুমার সেন, ১৫৫ পৃঃ)।

The outstanding result of the propagation of the Vaishnavic faith in Bengal was to save the Hindu society and culture, which had been threatened with submersion by the impact of Islam. It was the relaxation of the caste-restrictions in the Vaishnava community that kept many in the Hindu fold who would otherwise have embraced Islam. Vaishnavism was thus "one of the many defences set-up by the Hindu society against the onrush of Islam" ('Bengal under Akbar and Jehangir', T. K. Raja Choudhuri, P.P. 95—96, P. 1013.

CHAPTERS IV

THE REGIONS IN WHICH HINDU INDEPENDENCE WAS MAINTAINED THROUGHOUT THE SULTANATE PERIOD.

Rajputna Mewar.

Chitor, which had been conquered by Alauddin Khalji in 1303, was recovered by Rana Hamir in 1318. Mewar became powerful during the reign of Rana Kumbha (1433—1468). Rana Kumbha repulsed the attacks of the Muslims of Malwa and Guzerat more than once. He built near Chitor a tower to commemorate his victory over the Muslims.

“The Sultan of Mandu (Malwa) not to be outdone built a higher tower at Mandu. The Chitor tower still remains, the Mandu one has vanished” (‘Glympse of World History’, J. L. Nehru, P. 255).

Mewar’s power and glory reached their zenith during the reign of Rana Sangha (Sangrama Singha)—(1509—1528). He repulsed Muslim attacks from Malwa more than once. But, as has been stated before, he along with his confederates were defeated by Babar at the battle of Khanua (1527). But the defeat at Khanua did not affect either the independence or the territorial integrity of Mewar.

Jodhpur and Bikanir.

Both Jodhpur and Bikanir were under the rule of the Rathor Clan though they were independent of each other. The Rathors traced their descent from the Gaharvalas of Banaras and Kanouj. As we have said before, bands of Rajputs left the Gangetic plain when that region was conquered by the Turks and established independent states in the inaccessible regions of what subsequently came to be called Rajputna. Some Gaharvalas might have migrated to the Jodhpur and Bikanir regions at that time.

The kingdom of Jodhpur assumed the name during the reign of Raja Jodha (1438—1488), who established the city of Jodhpur. But the kingdom had already acquired fame during the reign of Raja Chunda (1394—1414).

The power and fame of Jodhpur reached their zenith during the reign of Raja Maldeva (1532—1562).

Nothing particular is known about the Rathors of Bikanir during the period under review. *Jaypur.*

The rulers of Jaypur belonged to the Kachhapaghata (Kachhua) Clan of the Rajputs. They came into prominence during the 14th century. Events of their history during the 14th and 15th century are not known, but they were destin-

ed to come to the fore front during Akbar's reign by pioneering matrimonial alliances with the Mughals.

Orissa.

In the second half of the 14th century Orissa { , / after experiencing a glorious period, was declining. It was in this state of weakness that Feroz Tughlak, the Sultan of Delhi, invaded Orissa (then known as Jaznagar) and entering Puri desecrated the Jagannath temple and threw the images into the sea. The Orissan King had to conclude a treaty binding himself to pay an annual tribute to the Delhi Sultanate in the shape of a number of elephants.

From the second quarter of the fifteenth century, with the establishment of the Gajapati dynasty, Orissa again became powerful so much so that its authority extended over parts of South India belonging to the Vijaynagar and Bahamani Kingdoms. Kapilendu was the king to whom Orissa owed this revival. He evidently repudiated the treaty with the Delhi Sultan and stopped payment of the annual tribute.

Towards the end of the century Orissa showed signs of decline but still the Gajapati dynasty maintained its independence till 1567, when it was conquered by Sulaiman Karnani, the Afghan ruler of Bengal. His general Kalapahar, a Brahmin convert to Islam, destroyed the Jagannath temple.

Assam.

Successive Muslim rulers of Bengal tried to conquer Assam, but its rulers repulsed all those attacks. Then Assam was left alone by the Muslims till Aurangzeb's time. Aurangzeb's famous general, and the then Subedar of Bengal, Mir Jumla led an expedition against Assam, but it was a signal failure, thanks to the martial strength of the Ahom rulers of Assam, Assam remained independent till 1816, when it was conquered by Burma. Assam was ceded to the East India Company in 1826 after the first Burmese war.

We see that Assam maintained its independence not only during the Sultanate period, but throughout the Muslim rule.

Nepal.

Nepal has always been an independent state. It was involved in a war with the East India Company from 1814—1816, which resulted in loss of large parts of Nepal's territory, but over the contracted region Nepal has continued to maintain its independence. During the Muslim period Hindu and Buddhist religious teachers and literary men and even displaced ruling chiefs from Eastern India found a ready asylum in Nepal (and also in Tibet); and that explains how in spite of the ravages of the Muslims much of the Buddhist and Hindu literary treasures of Bihar and Bengal have survived.

CHAPTER V

THE RISE AND FALL OF VIJAYNAGAR.

During Mahammad Tughlak's reign an old Hindu dynasty, which had been ruling over the Mysore region in terms of vassalage under the Delhi Sulternate, declared independence in 1336 and founded a new capital called Vijaynagar on the right bank of the Tungabhadra.

The Vijaynagar Kingdom expanded and the South of the Peninsula was completely cleared of the Muslims, so that the Vijaynagar authority extended practically over the whole of the Tamil country.

Refugees came in large numbers from the Muslim regions in the South and settled in the city of Vijaynagar and it grew rapidly; and thus its circumference came to be 60 miles with many large gardens laid out within it. Paes, the Portuguese traveller, said that the city was as large as Rome. It was, he said, the best provided city in the World." (Glympses of World history; J. L. Nehru, P.P. 257—258).

For half a century, from 1365 to 1423, the Vijaynagar kings were at war with the Muslims of the South. In the first clash of 1365 the Vijaynagar forces seized a Muslim citadel and killed

all the Muslim defenders with their families. Next year the Muslims attacked Vijaynagar and killed 400,000 Hindus in revenge, but they could not occupy any portion of the Vijaynagar territory. War was renewed in 1377 and 1398 with indecisive results. The fourth war took place between 1404 and 1410; the Muslim ruler Feroz Shah defeated the Vijaynagar king. Deva Rai I and forced Deva Rai to give him a daughter in marriage. It was in this way that Deva Rai could maintain the territorial integrity of Vijaynagar.

It is said that on the day of the marriage Deva Rai had a portion of the road to the Vijaynagar palace, to be used by Feroz Shah, covered with gold-braided cloth. Whether Deva Rai did this of his own accord or out of compulsion, he did not deserve to be on the throne any longer. But the people of Vijaynagar, it would appear, took no notice of what their rulers had been doing.

The fifth war broke out in 1423. In this war also the Muslims could not occupy any part of Vijaynagar territory, but there was another 'appalling massacre of Hindus, destruction of temples, slaughtering of cows and everything which could wound the feelings of the vanquished side.' (Moreland and Chatterjee, *A short history of India*, P. 176).

By the middle of the 15th century a new dynasty was established in Vijaynagar, which

brought to the throne two strong rulers in succession; and the Muslims, out of fear, stopped their campaigns against Vijaynagar. The second ruler of the new dynasty, and the most famous of the Vijaynagar kings, was Krishnadeva Rai (1509—1530). Paes, the Portuguese traveller, said that Krishnadeva Rai became famous for his good government and even-handed justice. He was a great patron of literature and learning, and his Court was adorned by eight most famous poets of the South of the time.

At this time the Muslims in the South were grouped in five independent states—Ahmednagar, Khandesh, Berar, Bijapur and Golconda.

Vijaynagar at this time was the strongest state in the South.

“Ultimately Vijaynagar’s strength and wealth induced the Muslim states to combine against it in 1565. The other states became jealous of Vijaynagar and formed a league against it.” (‘Glimpses of World history’, J. L. Nehru, P. 256, P. 259).

“In 1564 their united armies faced the full strength of Vijaynagar and in the first days of 1565 completely destroyed it in a decisive battle which has received the name of Talikot. The city of Vijaynagar was occupied and devastated, and the surrounding country was ravaged. The dynasty withdrew to the south-east; and though

it was destined to survive for some time, it no longer threatened the supremacy of the Muslim kingdoms in this region.” (Moreland and Chatterjee, *A short history of India* (P. 183).

In this battle 100,000 Hindus were killed, and after the battle, all the inhabitants of the city—men, women and children—were put to the sword. The city was so completely destroyed that its site still remains uninhabited.

It will be seen that though the city of Vijaynagar was destroyed, the bulk of the kingdom remained intact under the old dynasty, which established a new capital further south-east. But Vijaynagar now was a poor and weak state. Subsequently, during Shahá Jahan’s reign, Vijaynagar would be eaten up piecemeal by Bijapur and Golconda. Strangely enough, in the case of Bijapur, this would happen through Shaháji, father of Sivaji, who was then a general in the Bijapur army.

Errata Part III

Page	Line	Read	Instead of
(i)	18th	Jahan	Jehan
(i)	last	appalling	appaling
(ii)	last but one line	Uttar	Letter
5	23rd.	who	wo
10	7th.	reign	reign, <i>Region</i>
12	7th.	conciliation	conceilation
13	3rd.	Jahan's	Jahans
14	3rd.	The Appalling	Tre Apalling
22	1st.	honour,	honour
23	1st.	'in intellect and in' to be added before resources	
26	25th.	'and' to be added before Ramchhera	
29	25th.	Kshtrya chivalry	Kshtrya- chivalry
30	17th.	Hada	Huda
37	4th.	rendering	endering
40	13th.	character ;	character
43	20th.	hair	chair
46	2nd.	bore	ore

PART III

(A. D. 1556—1707)

From Akbar to Aurangzeb.

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INTRODUCTION.

The foundation of the Mughal Empire was laid by Akbar and the process of expansion continued throughout the successive reigns. The great days of the Mughals ended with Aurangeb's reign. After his death the Mughal Empire started to disintegrate. The period covered by the reigns of the later Mughals may well be regarded as a period of Hindu revival; the British took India not from the Mughals but from the Marathas.

There is no need to repeat the chronological account of this period, which occurs in every text book; attention has been drawn only to those aspects and incidents of the Mughal rule which are of vital importance from the Hindu point of view.

CHAPTER I

AKBAR

(1) *Akbar and Himu.*

When 'Akbar, then a boy of thirteen, was Crowned somewhere in the Punjab under the Regency of Bairam Khan there was an Afghan claimant to the throne, who was a descendant of Sher Shahā. This 'Afghan claimant had a Hindu Prime Minister, who was also the Commander-in-Chief of his army, named Himu. Before Bairam could reach Delhi with Akbar, Himu attacked that city, drove the Mughals out of it and, ignoring his Afghan master, assumed the Delhi throne for himself. Bairam Khan, with Akbar, hastened towards Delhi and met Himu at Panipath. "Himu with much the stronger force had secured an apparently winning position when he was incapacitated by a wound, the leaderless army broke and he himself was captured and executed." (Moreland and Chatterjee, *A short history of India*, P. 215). The different parts of his body were hung up in the public streets. Thus ended the Hindu independence established by Himu for a while in the Delhi state.

(2) *Akbar's Hindu-policy.*

Akbar 'aimed at securing the acquiescence of his Hindu subjects in general and the active support of the leading Rajput Chiefs...' (Moreland & Chatterjee, *A short history of India*, P. 217).

He secured loyal adherence of the Hindus in general by abolishing the *Jezieh* and the special pilgrimage tax, making slaughter of the cow a capital offence, showing appreciation of Sanskrit literature by having translations made of many Sanskrit books and patronising Hindi writers and musicians.

As regards the Rajput Chiefs he wanted them to acknowledge his suzerainty and place their military forces at his disposal. If they did so they would enjoy full autonomy in their own states and get an honourable position at the Mughal Court.

α/ "It was Akbar's reign that made it (the Mughal dynasty) of the soil and wholly Indian in outlook. In a sense he might be considered to be the father of Indian nationalism." (*Glimpses of World history*, J. L. Nehru, P. 306).

Akbar translated his ideal of Indian nationhood based on Hindu-Moslem unity in the architecture of Fatepur-Sikri, "where the buildings display such a combination of Hindu and Muslim features that the place may be described as having a style of its own, and a style of charm and

beauty.” (Moreland & Chatterjee, A short history of India, P. 220).

Akbar attempted to create a fundamental basis of Hindu-Moslem unity by promulgating a new religion. But *Din Ilahi* failed in its purpose. It gained few adherents outside the Court and provoked a rebellion among the Mughal officers of Bengal and Bihar, who aimed at ousting Akbar and placing his brother Hakim on the throne.

If a common Indian nationhood was to be developed, there could be no room for fully independent Hindu states within the Mughal Empire. The policy which Akbar adopted in relation to the Rajput princes could not therefore be taken exception to. Yet we cannot help sympathising with the Hindu chiefs like Rana Pratap of Mewar or Pratapaditya and Kedar Ray of Bengal, who never yielded to Akbar and lost their all in fighting for freedom. The following quotations are to the point :

“Akbar’s defeat of Rani Durgavati (of Gondwana which covered the present Bhopal region), a ruler in the central provinces, does him little credit. The Rani was brave and a good ruler and she did him no harm.” (‘Glimpses of World history’, J. L. Nehru, P. 309).

“All Rajputs flocked to serve him (Akbar) and do him honour, nearly all except one unbending figure, Rana Pratap Singha of Mewar. Rana

Pratap refused to acknowledge Akbar's suzerainty even nominally. Beaten in battle he preferred to live a haunted life in jungles to pampered ease as Akbar's vassal." (Glympses of World history, J. L. Nehru, P. 308).

This attitude on our part arises out of the knowledge that after Akbar's death the scene started changing. Even in Jehangir's time building of new temples was prohibited; and from Shahá Jahan's time fanaticism again raised its head.

As regards the Bhuyas of Bengal of whom Pratapaditya and Kedar Ray were the most prominent, our sympathy for them arises out of the fact that many Hindus got protection under them from the inhuman oppression of the Mughal officers whom Akbar evidently could not control.

"If cannot be said that the destruction of their (the Bhuyas') independence brought security and happiness to the people. In several ways the Bhuyas were defenders of the Hindu cause." ('Bengal under Akbar and Jehangir', T. K. Ray Choudhuri, P.P. 44—45).

(3) *Inhuman oppression of Akbar's Officers in Bengal.*

"Within their own *jaigirs* or territories in their charge they (the Mughal officers) acted as so many lordlings with little fear of interference.

They might oppress the ryots, raise their dues, seize their beautiful boys and girls....The Eastern Bengal ballads record the very common tradition regarding the seizure of ryot's wives and daughters by high officers (of the Mughal government) and mention the professional Sindhukis employed to secure such unsavoury booty." (Bengal under Akbar and Jehangir, T. K. Ray Choudhuri, P. 234).

In case the Hindus failed to pay the heavy taxes laid on them, their women and children were sold as slaves by public auction. The officers violated the honour of the ryots' women practically with impunity, while their Pyadas subjected them to extortions." ('Bengal under Akbar and Jehangir, P. 174).

Those sold as slaves were often turned into eunuchs.

(4) *Todarmal*.

1) "Apart from Akbar himself, the main credit (for his agrarian system) is due to Raja Todarmal, a Hindu belonging to one of the mercantile castes, who beginning as a clerk, rose to be revenue, and for a time, Prime Minister. It is characteristic of Akbar's methods that on several occasions he sent Todarmal, his Chief agrarian expert, to command troops in the field, and his consistent success in these operations would almost justify us in

describing him as the most efficient general of the reign, but as soon as each war was over, he came back to the Revenue Ministry, where his main work was done. His fame with legendary accretions lives in the villages, and even in the British period he served as a standard by which revenue officers could be judged....!Always a strict Hindu, in his old age he retired to die beside the Ganges but Akbar called him back to duty.” (Moreland & Chatterjee, *A short history of India*, P.P. 227—228).

(5) *A side of Akbar's character.*

“ইন্দ্রিয় বিলাস মুসলমান নরপতিদিগের সাধারণ কলঙ্ক। সম্রাট আকবরের স্মৃতি মন্দিরের দ্বারে ভারত-বর্ষের সকল শ্রেণীর হিন্দু মুসলমান এখনও শ্রদ্ধা ভক্তি অর্পণ করিতেছে। সেই প্রবীণ নরপতির লোহিত প্রস্তুত খোচিত স্মৃতিস্থিত দুর্গ-প্রাচীরের অভ্যন্তরে মর্শ্বর-রচিত হর্ম্য-তলে কত জাতির কত ধর্ম্মের কুলকামিনী তাঁহার বিলাস বাসনা চরিতার্থ করিতেন তাহা ইতিহাসে অপরিচিত নহে। তেজস্বিনী অভিমানিনী, রাজপুত্রমণী যোধা বৃষ্টিএর নাম বাঙ্গালীর নিটক অপরিচিত নহে; কিন্তু তিনিও আকবরের পাটরানী হইয়া সিংহাসনের অর্দ্ধভাগিনী হইয়াছিলেন। আগ্রার রাজ-দুর্গের মধ্যে এখনও নওরোজার বাজারের কক্ষগুলি ধুলিতে পরিণত হয় নাই। সেখানে বর্ষে বর্ষে কত কুকীর্তির অভিনয় হইত তাহা লোক সমাজে লুপ্তায়িত ছিলনা”। (সিরাজউদ্দৌলা, অক্ষয় কুমার মৈত্রেয়, ৬৬-৭৪ পৃঃ)।

CHAPTER II

JEHANGIR

(1) *Inhuman oppression by Jehangir's Officers in Bengal.*

“Plunder and rape appear as the concomitants of Mughal campaigns, and even a sensible man like Mirza Nathan boasts of his ruthless exploits. Udayaditya's (Pratapaditya's son) failure to satisfy this officer's lust for gold drew upon the head of the Jessore people a terrible vengeance. He threatened to show what is meant by looting and, true to his words, wrought such a havoc that he became an object of terror to the people of the country. Yet, to be sure, Mirza Nathan was more humane than his brother Murad who during a Jessore campaign brought as captives four thousand women, young and old, stripped of all their clothing.” (‘Bengal under Akbar and Jehangir’, T. K. Ray Choudhuri, P. 39).

(2) *Jehangir and the Sikhs.*

In the 15th century Nanak preached *Bhakti* religion in the Punjab; as a result a new religious community was formed with the name ‘Sikh’ (disciple) and Nanak was the first ‘guru’ of this community. Guru Nanak died shortly after

Babar's arrival. The fourth guru was Ramdas. He was in friendly terms with Akbar and obtained a grant of land from him, on which the famous golden temple of Amritsar was built. After Ramdas the position of the Guru became hereditary.

Though the Sikhs thus arose as a religious community, during Jehangir's reign they began to take interest in politics under the leadership of the fifth Guru Arjun Singh (who compiled the *Grantha Sahej*). Having been accused of giving shelter to the rebel prince Khashru he was put to death by Jehangir and the next Guru Hargovinda was kept in prison for 12 years for refusing to pay the fine that had been imposed on Guru Arjun Singh, in addition to the death sentence. The subsequent events of Sikh history relate to Shahá Jahan's reign.

(3) *Marriage with Nurjahan.*

“জাহাঙ্গীর বাদশাহ সের আফগানকে কৌশল ক্রমে হত্যা করাইয়া তাঁহার অলোক সামান্য পরম রূপবতী সহধর্মিণী নূরজাহানকে সিংহাসনে বসাইয়া তাঁহারই নামে মুদ্রা প্রচলিত করিয়া রাজ্য শাসন করিতেন। লোকে পরম সমাদরে এই পর-দার নিরত সন্ত্রাটের সম্মুখে জানু পাতিয়া উপবেশন করিত। দেখিয়া শুনিয়া সহিয়া গিয়াছিল, সুতরাং লোকে বাদশাহ নবাবদিগের গুপ্ত চরিত্র লইয়া কোনরূপ আন্দোলন করিত না।”
(সিরাজউদ্দৌলা, অক্ষয় কুমার মৈত্রেয়, ৬৪-৭৪ পৃঃ)।

(4) *Some beneficial measures of Jehangir.*

He caused a pillar to be built on the bank of the Jumna; one end of a chain was fixed to this pillar, the other end being fixed in a room of the fort-palace (of Agra). The chain had a number of bells attached to it; any body who had a complaint to make to the Emperor could shake the chain and he would be taken to the Emperor's presence.

Jehangir issued orders prohibiting collection of dues not sanctioned by law, of succession dues, cutting out the parts of a condemned man's body and killing of animals on certain specified days.

He was a generous patron of Hindi literature.

(5) *Jehangir and Mewar.*

Akbar had conquered Chitor but could not subdue Rana Pratap. Rana Pratap's son Amar Singha maintained his independence for 15 years inspite of two big expeditions sent against him by Jehangir, but he could not resist a third expedition and had to accept Jehangir's vassalage. He never showed cowardice in his struggle against the Muslims, and the terms of vassalage were not humiliating.

CHAPTER III

SHAH JAHAN.

(1) *Shahá Jahan's Hindu -policy.*

Shahá Jahan was the son of a Hindu mother, and so also was his father Jehangir. Yet he was a fanatical Muslim. Cow-slaughter was revived during his reign; he destroyed many temples in the Banaras ~~reign~~ and stopped building of new temples. He re-imposed the pilgrimage tax on the Hindus and offered rewards for conversion of Hindus to Islam.

(2) *Shahá Jahan and the Sikhs.*

We have seen that Guru Arjun Singh was executed and his son Guru Haragovinda was imprisoned for 12 years by Jehangir. These events made the Sikh community very much agitated. Guru Haragovinda after his release took advantage of this situation and adopted measures towards organising the Sikhs into a martial community; and in the beginning of Shahá Johan's reign there were clashes between the Mughals and the Sikhs near Amritsar. The Sikhs were ultimately routed, and Guru Haragovinda took shelter in the Kashmir hills, where he remained in hiding.

(3) *Inhuman oppression by Shahá Jahan's Officers in Bundel^Khand.* ७ ३/१

Since the advent of the Muslims Bundelkhand passed through vicissitudes, sometimes having to acknowledge suzerainty of Delhi and sometimes getting on as an independent state. Birsingha, brother of the then ruler of Bundelkhand, killed Abul Fazl, the historian and a friend of Akbar, at the instigation of Jehangir who suspected Abul Fazl, as being against his accession to the throne after Akbar's death. For this reason Akbar annexed Bundelkhand to the Mughal Empire; but Jehangir restored it to Birsingha as a reward. Birsingha's son Jujhar Singha came into conflict with Shahá Jahan who replaced him by a nominee of his own by the name of Debi Singha. Debi Singha was a nominal ruler, and the government of Bundelkhand was in reality placed in the hands of a body of Mughal officers supported by Mughal troops. These Mughal officers and troops started desecration and destruction of temples and forcible abduction of Hindu women from their families and keeping them in Muslim harems. At this time the Capital of Bundel^Khand was at Orchha. There was a famous temple there, which had been built by Bir Singha Deva. The Mughals razed this temple to the ground and built a mosque in its place. After these outrages, Champat Rai, a member of the ruling House of Bundelkhand,

who had hitherto been living on robbery, was fired with the desire of freeing Bundelkhand from the grip of the Mughals. He organised a band of determined fighters and brought about a state of revolt in Bundelkhand.

In this circumstance Shahá Jahan adopted a policy of conciliation. He replaced Devi Singha by another ruler more acceptable to the Bundellas and removed the Mughal officers and troops from Bundelkhand. These measures satisfied the leading men of Bundelkhand, but Champat Rai was not reconciled. He did not like to have freedom of Bundelkhand as a gift from the Emperor, since such freedom was precarious in his opinion; he wanted to win freedom by fighting; for then only the freedom, he thought, would be stable. So Champat Rai again took to brigandage, this time not for his personal gain but for securing the ~~se~~news of war against the Mughals. He made the forests of Bundelkhand his habitat, from which he used to sally forth and plunder the surrounding Mughal territory. While Champat Rai was thus roaming about in the forests of Bundelkhand, a son was born to him whom he named Chhatrasal, of whom we shall hear later on. He sent the child to his father-in-law's house for protection. One day in an encounter with the enemy forces he was seriously wounded and in order to escape

from falling into the rands of the Mughals, he with his wife committed suicide.

(4) *Shahá Jahan's extravagance and excessive taxation.* x/

Above evrything else, Shahá Jahan cared for magnificence. Apart from the Tajmahal, the peacock throne may be mentioned as an instance of his pursuit of magnificence. Inspite of ten other jewelled thrones which had been in use, he considered it necessary to have this new throne. "Its construction took seven years, and the cost of the materials was returned officially at more than one million sterling. ...The total cost exceeded twelve million sterling." (Moreland and Chatterjee, A short history of India, P. 242). n/

Where did the money for such extravagant expenditures come from?

"The facts taken together suggest Shahá Jahan in pursuing his ideal of magnificence took from the peasants more than could safely be taken, with the result that agriculture became an unpopular occupation, and that the economic foundations of the Empire were undermined." (Moreland and Chatterjee, A short history of India, P. 242). g

In this circumstance the peasants began to desert land and take to other occupations; and in order to prevent these distressed peasants from

leaving the land, Shahá Jahan empowered his officers to flog them.

(5) *The Apalling famine of 1630—1631.*

In 1630 there was little rainfall over an extensive region comprising Guzerat, Amhednagar and parts of Bijapur and Golconda. The result was that these regions were stricken with a famine. Large numbers of people migrated to other regions, so much so that these regions were largely depopulated. Among those who could not migrate many committed suicide and the rest lived for some time on the flesh of dogs and such other animals and ultimately took to cannibalism.

“The official record of the reign tells us that ‘men began to devour each other and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love’. A Dutch merchant, who lived through the calamity, noted that ‘men lying in the streets, not yet dead, were cut up by others, and men fed on living men, so that even in the streets, and still more on road journeys, men ran great danger of being murdered and eaten.’” (Moreland and Chatterjee, A short history of India, P. 247).

A contemporary English account says that Shahá Jahan did nothing to mitigate this calamity.

“Shahá Jahan was the contemporary of Louis XIV of France who built the Versailles and held a magnificent Court but his magni-

2) science paled before the magnificence of the grand Mughal, and yet famine came sometimes and pestilence and disease which wiped off vast numbers The poverty-stricken people paid for the palaces, though many did not have even mud huts to live in." ('Glimpses of World history', J. L. Nehru, P.P. 313—314).

(6) *Events in the South: Destruction of what remained of Vijaynagar after Talikot by Bijapur and Golconda: Shaháji's activities.* w.f. /

We have seen in a previous discussion that the principal Muslim states of the South combined against Vijaynagar and brought about its downfall at the battle of Talikot; this downfall did not mean the destruction of the entire kingdom, much of it still remained intact under the old dynasty itself with a new capital established further south-east. Of the principal Muslim States which fought against Vijaynagar at Talikot, Bijapur and Golconda were the most prominent. During Shahá Jahan's reign these two states again combined to destroy what remained of Vijaynagar after Talikot, and they started attacks each separately, on Vijaynagar from two different sides.

The Muslim states found this time to be opportune for launching attacks on Vijaynagar, because Vijaynagar was passing through a crisis owing to the rebellious activities of its vassals called Nayaks. We will now tell the story of the u /

conquest of Vijaynagar by the two Muslim powers in the words of Sir Jadunath Sarkar :

“For the attainment of their ignoble ambition (of throwing off the suzerainty of the Vijaynagar dynasty) they (the Nayaks) invited the arms of the sovereigns of Bijapur and Golconda dreaming that the latter would march back after overthrowing their former overlord, nor did their delusion end here; they hoped to ensure their independence by setting the Muslim powers invited by them against each other. This was the game that Rana Sangha had played with fatal consequences to himself when he invited the Turk (Mughal) from Kabul to oust the Pathan (Afghan) from Delhi.

That passion for absolute local autonomy and unwillingness to form compact federations for the greater end of self-preservation by sacrificing some of the smaller rights of full sovereignty which ruined the republics of Greece, were ever present in Hindu India (‘The House of Sivaji’, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, P.P. 48—53).

“Between the two streams of invasions (one from Bijapur and the other from Golconda), Sri Ranga Rayal, the last representative of the Vijaynagar royalty, was completely crushed out. He offered a long and desperate resistance. But his worst enemies were his own people. The insane pride, the blind selfishness and mutual dissensions

of his Hindu feudatories (the Nayaks) rendered his efforts futile, and the Muslims conquered Hindu Deccan piecemeal with the greatest ease and rapidity. As the Jesuit missionary Antoine De Pranza wrote from Trichnopoly (1659), the old Hindu kings of the country appear by their jealousies and imprudent actions to invite the conquest of entire Indii by the Muslims.' (The House of Siviji, Sir J. N. Sarkar, P.P. 47—48- u/

As each of the Muslim rulers was conquering one portion after another of the Vijaynagar territory, the then King of Vijaynagar was shifting his capital more and more southwards. In this way the capital was at last established at Vellore and Sri Ranga Royal ascended the throne here. In 1653 Vellore also was captured by Bijapur and nothing was left of the Vijaynagar kingdom, Sri Ranga Rayal, now being deserted by his courtiers took shelter in the forest north of Tanjore, a habitat of robbers. Spending some time here in great privations, he found shelter with one of his former feudatories in the Mysore region. This was the tragic end of the Vijaynagar dynasty. u/

Shahaji Bhonsle (father of Siviji), as a general of the Bejapur army, took part in all the campaigns of Bijapur against Vijaynagar and was thus instrumental in destroying the persistent Hindu independence in the South. It is strange

that while the son was fighting against Bijapur as well as the Mughals with a view to establishing Hindu independence in Maharashtra, the father was fighting for the same Bijapur in destroying Hindu independence in the south of the Peninsula.

(The Bhonsle family had enjoyed the rank of nobility in Maharashtra under the Muslim rulers of the Ahmednagar state, in which Maharashtra was situated, and obtained a *jaigir* in the Poona region including the Poona City. In course of time the Ahmednagar state ceased to exist, and its territory including Maharashtra was partitioned between the Mughals and the Bijapur state, the Poona region going under the Mughals. Sahaji Bhonsle at first obtained military service under the rulers of Ahmednagar, then he transferred his services to the Mughals and ultimately, through turn of circumstances, he had to leave Maharashtra for good and seek service in the Bijapur state. His young son Sivaji with his mother had to remain at Poona. Here, at the age of 18, Sivaji dreamt of founding an independent Hindu state over Maharashtra. He organised a band of young Maratha warriors, proceeded to execute his plan and naturally came into clash with both the Mughals and the Bijapur state.)

Though it is the practice to deal with Sivaji's career and the rise of the Marathas in connection with Aurangzeb's reign it must be borne in mind

that Sivaji's activities had taken a definite shape and direction during Shahá Jahan's reign.

What kind of rulers were the Sultans of Golconda and Bijapur who now became overlords of the Nayaks in the place of the Vijaynagar royalty?

"There was in actual operation a system of administration in Golconda which must be regarded as the most oppressive in the whole history of India ... and the same was the position in Bijapur." (Moreland & Chatterjee, A short history of India, P. 244).

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CHAPTER IV

AURANGEB

(1) *Aurangeb's Hindu -policy.*

Aurangzeb completely changed Akbar's policy, both towards Hindus in general and the Rajput chiefs in particular, though several Rajput chiefs like Jay Singha and Jasowant Singha were serving him loyally.

As regards Hindus in general, he issued orders in April 1669, to all provincial governors to destroy all the temples and educational institutions of the infidels, to stop their religious practices and preaching of their religion... The Hindu preacher Uddhab Bairagi was put into prison; the Vishweswar temple of Banaras was destroyed in August, 1669; the Keshava Deva temple of Mathura, which had been built by the Bundella king Bir Singha at a cost of 33 lakhs of rupees, was razed to the ground and a mosque raised in its place in January, 1670; all the images in the temple were taken away and put into the steps of the Jahanara mosque at Agra so that they might be trampled by the Muslims going to pray in the mosque. The Gobindaji temple at Brindaban and the Somnath temple of Kathiwar were also destroyed at this time, and worship by devotees

at the site of the Somnath temple was prohibited. ('Anecdotes of Aurangzeb', Sir J. N. Sarkar, P. 103).

During the Rajputna war of 1669—1670, 240 temples, including the famous Someshwar temple, were destroyed in Mewar alone. Even in the ever loyal state of Jaypur, 67 temples were razed to the ground. When Aurangzeb seized the Parlifort in Maharashtra, he destroyed the temple there, which had been built by Sivaji for his guru Ramdas Swami; and the chronieler observes :

"Thus was verified the Quranic Verse—Truth came and falsehood disappeared." ('History of Aurangzeb; Vol. V, Sir J. N. Sarkar, P. 381).

In April, 1669, the *jeziah* tax was re-^{z/}imposed on the Hindus and "Aurangzeb appointed specially selected pious officers for realising the tax." ('History of Aurangzeb,' Vol. V, Sir J. N. Sarkar, P. 381).

"The poor people who appealed to the Emperor and blocked the road ^{cy}objectly crying for its remission were trampelled down by elephants and dispersed at Aurangzeb's orders." ('Anecdotes of Aurangzeb', by Sir J. N. Sarkar, P. 10).

The jeziah tax was an unbearable burden for many Hindus and in order to escape it they chose to accept Islam. Conversion was induced by several causes—such as, compulsion, to avoid oppression of Muslim officers, to protect family

honour, to win favour at the Court, rigours of the caste system; but the economic pressure (of the Jeziah) was probably the factor which caused most of the large-scale conversions.

Cow-killing had already been revived during Shahá Jahan's reign.; "On at least one occasion he (Aurangzeb) desecrated a temple by having a cow slaughtered inside it." ('Moreland & Chatterjee, A short history of India,' P. 265).

The grants enjoyed by the Hindu institutions were withdrawn and the customs duties levied on the Hindus were doubled in order to relieve the Muslims completely of such duties. The pilgrimage tax on Hindus was increased. All Hindu festivals were prohibited. Riding on elephants and Arabian and Persian horses and using palkies for travelling were prohibited for all Hindus except the Rajputs, ('Anecdotes of Aurangzeb', Sir J. N. Sarkar, P.P. 10—11).

"Thus the only life the Hindus could live was a life deprived of the light of knowledge, deprived of the consolation of religion and deprived of social unions and public rejoinings, in short, a life exposed to constant public humiliations and political disabilities. Heaven and earth were alike closed to him so long as he remained Hindu. C wh

Hence the effect of Aurangzeb's reign was not only to goad the Hindus into constant revolt and disturbances, but also to make them deteriorate

in its not and in

resources, and thereby weaken the state of which they formed more than two thirds." (History of Aurangzeb, Vol. V., J. N. Sarkar, P.P. 483—486).

"...The Quranic polity made life intolerable for the Hindus under orthodox Mohommedan rule. Aurangzeb furnishes the best example of the effects of that polity when carried to its logical conclusions by a king ... without fear or favour in discharging what he held to be his duty as the first servant of God."

"..Study of Aurangzeb's long and strenuous reign of 50 years drives one truth home into our minds: if India is ever to become the home of a nation able to keep peace within and guard the frontiers, develop the economic resources of the country and promote art and science, then both Hinduism and Islam must die and be born again. Each of these creeds must pass through a vigorous vigil and penance. Each must be purified and rejuvenated under the sway of reason and science. That such a rebirth of Islam is not impossible has been demonstrated by the conqueror of Smyrna. Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha has proved that the greatest Muslim state of the age can secularise its constitution, abolish polygamy and servile seclusion of women, grant political equality to all creeds, and yet not cease to be a land of Islam.

Aurangzeb did not attempt any such ideal even though his subjects formed a very composite

population, even though the Indian world lay at his feet and he had no European rival hungrily watching to destroy his kingdom. On the contrary he deliberately undid the beginnings of such a national and rational policy which Akbar had set on foot.” (‘History of Aurangzeb’, Vol. V, Sir J. N. Sarkar, P.P. 494—495).

(2) *Hindu Revolts.*

Aurangzeb’s anti-Hindu measures led to country-wide revolts among the Hindus. These are mentioned below :

In Northern India

—The rise of the Jats in Aligarh, Mathura, Agra and Bharatpur regions

—Satnami rebellion.

—Gangaram’s activities in Bihar.

—Pahar Sing Gaur’s revolt in Malwa.

—Establishment of an independent Hindu kingdom in Central India by Chhatrasal of Bundelkhand.

—Freedom struggle among the rulers of Gondwana.

In Southern India :

—Freedom struggle of the Nayaks of Berar.

The Sikhs had been organising themselves against the Mughals since Jehangir’s time, and the rise of the Marathas under the leadership of Sivaji had commenced during Shahá Jaran’s reign.

These two movements need not, therefore, be regarded as results of Aurangeb's anti-Hindu measures.

The scope of this book does not permit a discussion of all the revolutionary movements noted above. But the Jat risings, the Satnami rebellion, Pahar Sing Gaur's revolt and Chhatrasal's activities will be considered in some detail; and, of course, the Sikh and Maratha affairs will be dealt with in due course.

(a) *The Jat risings.*

The Jats are a hardy agricultural people. They at first inhabited the northern frontier of Rajputana. With increase in numbers they gradually spread to Bharatpur, Agra and Aligarh regions and to parts of Malwa. They also established settlements in the North-West Punjab.

The Jats were the first to revolt against Aurangeb's anti-Hindu policy. In 1669 the Jats of Aligarh rose under the leadership of the local zemindar named Gokla, they killed the Mughal Fouzdar of Mathura and created a turmoil throughiut the Mathura and Aligarh districts. They fought against the Mughals for a year, after which they were beaten. Gokla was put to death, and his whole family had to embrace Islam.

Two Zemindars of Bharatpur, Rajaram and Ramehhera, supplied arms to their tenants and

organised them into military communities. They ^{n/} built forts in the forests of Bharatpur as hiding places in case they were beaten by the Mughals. They started plundering the surrounding Mughal regions (1685—1689). They gradually approached Agra and practically established their hold on the suburbs of that city. The local Muslim governor could not offer any effective resistance. They stopped all traffic on the roads and proceeded towards Sikandara to plunder the valuable things with which Akbar's tomb was decorated. They were, however, repulsed by the local Mughal Fouzdar.

At this time, the Turani warrior Agar Khan was going, with a large body of troops, from Kabul to Aurageb's camp at Bijapur. The Jats attacked the Turanis, seized the carts loaded with their supplies and carried away many of them as captives. ^{n/}

An internecine war was going on between two Rajput clans in this region. The local Mughal Fouzdar was helping one of the clans with his forces. At this juncture Rajaram and Ram Chhera joined the other side with their followers, and there was a bitter fight. Both Rajaram ^{and} Ramchhera were killed in this fight (July, 1688).[^] The severed head of Rajaram was sent to the Emperor's Camp at Bijapur. The severed head of Ramchhera was hung up at the fort gate of Agra facing the bazaar.

Aurangeb now sent Raja Bishan Singha of Jaypur to root out the Jats. Raja Bishan Singha was specially commissioned to destroy the two forest forts of the Jats at Sinsani and Sagar.

“The Mughals took four months in clearing the fort (of Sinsani) carrying the trenches to the fort gate, mounting guns on raised platforms and laying mines. Then the mine under the gate was fired; but the Jats having previously detected and locked its further side with stones, the charge was driven backwards, destroying many of the artillery men and supervising officers of the Mughal army. A second mine was then laid and carried under the walls in a month’s time. It was successfully fired (June, 1690), the wall was breached the Jat defenders lining it were blown up, and the Mughals stormed the fort, after three hours of stubborn opposition. The Jats were despatched by the Mughals only after 500 of them were lost. The remnant of the garrison was put to the sword.”

Next year Raja Bishan Singha attacked the fort of Sagar. The main gate of the fort happened to have been kept open at this time to admit supplies. So Bishan Singha easily entered the fort and indulged in slaughtering the Jats. Only 500 of them survived and they were made captives. (‘History of Aurangeb’, Vol. V, Sir J. N. Sarkar, P.P. 292—303).

After the death of Rajaram and Ramchhara the leadership of the Jats was assumed by Churamani. He showed a remarkable capacity for military organisation. He built new forts in the place of those that had been destroyed by the Mughals; and he strengthened his army by adding a cavalry section to it. He also formed a section of musketeers in his infantry.

He established a dynasty in Bharatpur which continued to rule over it till recent times. Churamani's power reached its zenith after Aurangeb's death.

(b) *The Satnami Rebellion.*

A community formed of poor people belonging to a number of depressed classes, called Satnamis, inhabited the Patiala and Adwar regions. In this community there were cultivators, goldsmiths, carpenters, sweepers, tanners." (Glympses of World history', J. L. Nehru, P. 319). The Muslim historian Kafi Khan observed that the Satnamis, though peace-loving, were accustomed to use arms for defending their religion.

Once a leading man of the community was killed by Mughal soldiers. This led the Satnamis to take up arms in protest, but they were ignorant of the military tactics of the day. So they were easily put down by the Mughals.

(c) *Pahar Singh Gaur's revolt in Malwa.*

From ancient time Malwa had been a chief centre of Hindu culture, and it was inhabited by groups of valiant Rajputs. It was therefore natural that in Malwa at any rate 'Aurangzeb's anti-Hindu measures would meet with stubborn resistance. And it is a fact that in Malwa Muslim attempt at destruction of temples and collection of the *Jezieh* tax were frustrated on several occasions.

Once a Muslim Collector entered the *zemin-dari* of one Debi Singha for realising the *Jezieh* tax. The tax-collector got such a rebuff at the hands of Debi Singha's men that the incident has found a place in history. ('History of 'Aurangzeb', Vol. V, Sir J. N. Sarkar, P. 381). 2/

Pahar Singh Gaur's conflict with the Mughals arose out of a different and somewhat minor matter, but it ultimately assumed the form of freedom—struggle against the oppressive rule of 'Aurangzeb. Pahar Singh Gaur was the *zemindar* of Indrakshi (40 miles east of Gwalior) and, during 'Aurangzeb's reign, was employed as the Mughal *Fouzdar* of Dhamdhuri. He became known throughout Malwa for his valour and Kshtrya-chivalry. A region close to Dhamdhuri [^]was in the possession of the Hada rulers of Bundi. A petty *zemindar* in this region named Lal Singha was being oppressed by Anurudha Singha, the 2/

then Hada ruler of Bundi, Lal Singha appealed to Pahar Singha for help and offered him a daughter in marriage. As Lal Singha's social position was much higher than that of Pahar Singha, the latter felt highly honoured at the marriage proposal and readily agreed to help him.

Pahar Singha Gaur now took residence in Lal Singha's zemindari and sent an ultimatum to Anuruddha Singha Hada, asking him either to cease to oppress Lal Singha or to be prepared for war. On receipt of the ultimatum Anurudha Singha Hada with a large Bundi force proceeded against Pahar Singha. A battle was fought, and Anurudha Singha, being defeated, took to flight. Pahar Singha did not pursue him, as that would be contrary to Kshatrya chivalry, but he seized the Huda ruler's supplies and military equipments worth lakhs of rupees.

Aurangeb now ordered Pahar Singha to deposit all these things at the Imperial Court, which Pahar Singha refused to do. Thus a war broke out between him and the Mughals. At this time Prince Azam was the Subedar of Malwa, but as he was away his work was being carried on by one of his officers named Muluk Chand. Aurangeb ordered Muluk Chand to take steps to subdue Pahar Singha. A battle was fought between the two near Sironj.

Pahar Singha was killed in this engagement

(November or December, 1685). The severed head of Pahar Singha was sent to the Emperor. Muluk Chand received the title 'Rai-i-Rayan', the highest title a Hindu could get from the Mughals.

But the rebellion in Malwa did not cease with Pahar Singha's death. His son Bhagavant Singha Gaur organised a large force of hardy peasants and started plundering the surrounding regions of Gwalior; he stopped traffic on the roads. Muluk Chand led an expedition against Bhagavant. A battle was fought between the two at Churni, 6 miles south-east of Antri; Bhagavant was killed, and his severed head was sent to the Emperor.

Now, another son of Pahar Singha named Debi Singha took to plundering raids into Mughal territory and a grand son of Pahar Singha named Gopal Singha seized the Mughal fort near Indrakshi. The Mughal general who was sent against him was killed in action (May, 1690). In this way the Gaurs of Malwa carried on freedom-struggle against the Mughals for a period of seven years, after which they submitted to the Emperor and had to pay a lump sum tribute of several lakhs of rupees.

(d) *Chhatrasal's activities.*

In discussing the events of Shahá Jahan's reign we considered the activities of Chhatrasal's father

Champat Rai. We have seen that Chhatrasal was born in a forest when his father was engaged in a struggle against the Mughals and was sent to his maternal uncle's house for protection. He was brought up and educated there upto the age of twelve and then went to Mahoba to stay with his uncle. In course of time he obtained military service under the Mughal general Raja Jay Singha and fought against Sivaji at Purandar (1665). In 1669 he fought under the Mughal general Dilir Khan against Gondwana. The Gondwana ruler was defeated and compelled by Dilir Khan to embrace Islam with his whole family. This tragic happening in Gondwana brought a change in Chhatrasal's mind. He decided to give up Mughal service and by a stratagem succeeded in fleeing to Maharashtra. There he managed to see Sivaji and was fortunate in having his advice and assistance for launching a freedom—movement in Central India on the lines of the Maratha movement in the Deccan.

He returned to Bundelkhand just at the time when Aurangzeb promulgated his orders for destruction of Hindu temples and Hindu educational institutions. As a result of this anti-Hindu measure of Aurangzeb a revolutionary movement was started throughout Bundelkhand and Malwa. At a big people's gathering held at Orera Chhatra-

sal was nominated as the leader of this movement. Henceforth Chhatrasal became involved in a constant struggle against the Mughals; and, though on occasions he experienced reverses on the whole he got the best of it and succeeded in establishing an independent state in the heart of Central India by frustrating successive Mughal expeditions sent against him under the ablest Mughal generals of the day.

“When Champat Rai Bundella was hunted down by Aurangeb’s orders (1661) he left five sons behind. The fourth of these Chhatrasal was then a boy of eleven only. But he lived to defy the Imperial Government for half a century, keep his own province (Bundelkhand) in constant turmoil, invade Malwa and finally carve out an independent principality in eastern Malwa with its capital at Panna. His long life of eighty one years ended in 1731 with complete effacement of Mughal rule in Bundelkhand.” (‘History of Aurangeb’, Vol. V, Sir J. N. Sarkar, P. 391).

(4) *Aurangeb’s policy towards the Rajput Chiefs :*
The Rajputana war: Prince Akbar’s activities.

Aurangeb, just as he set himself to crushing the Hindus in general, was determined to break the power and influence of the Rajput Chiefs. An opportunity arose at this time for translating this policy into action. Raja Jaswant Singha, ruler of Marwar, who was a general in the Mughal

army, died on duty in Afghanistan; he had no issue. Aurangzeb took this opportunity to send Muslim officers, assisted by troops, to administer the territory, with a view ultimately to annex it to the Mughal Empire. A Queen of Jasowant, however, gave birth to a son at Lahore on her way back from Afghanistan. The child was named Ajit Singha. Aurangzeb issued orders to seize both Ajit Singha and the queen to be kept in the custody of the court. The Rathors (of Marwar) understood, with good reason, this action of Aurangzeb as a move for converting Ajit Singha to Islam, so that the state of Marwar might be made a Muslim state.

In this crisis of Marwar, there appeared a leader by the name of Durgadas, who took the vow that he would frustrate Aurangzeb's evil design and rescue Ajit Singha with his mother. He proceeded to Lahore and established connection with the Rathar body-guards of the queen who had accompanied her from Afghanistan. A clash took place between the Rathar body-guards led by Durgadas and the Muslim troops that had been sent by Aurangzeb to siege Ajit Singha and the queen; Durgadas succeeded in rescuing and taking them to Marwar.

“Thanks to the devotion of the Rathor guards, most of whom died like heroes, and the sagacity and loyalty of Durgadas, one of the

noblest characters in Rajput history, Ajit Singha, the infant son of Jasowant and the future hope of the Rathor Clan, was safely conveyed to Marwar (23rd July, 1679).—('Anecdotes of Aurangeb', Sir J. N. Sarkar, P.P. 12—14).

After this event, Aurangeb proclaimed Ajit Singha to be a 'counterfeit' prince and set up a beggar-boy, whom he named Mahammad Raj, as the true son of Jasowant.

At this insult to the Rathors all Rajputna except ever loyal Jaypur, kecame united under the leadership of Maharana Raj Singha of Mewar in a war with Aurangeb (1675—1680).

Prince Akbar (Aurangeb's son) was in command of a section of the Mughal army.

The Rajputs formed connection with Akbar and convinued him that in the interests of the Mughal empire he should join hands with the Rajputs in ousting Aurangeb and placing himself on the throne. Aurangeb became aware of this conspiracy and with the help of a forged letter he created distrust between the Rajputs and Akbar. Thus a confusion took place among the Rajputs and Aurangeb got the upverhand in the war. The Rajputs soon came to know of Aurangeb's fraud and again rallied to Akbar. But Aurangeb had meanwhile succeeded in crushing the Rathors for the time. He devastated all the settled parts

of Marwar and forced the Rathors to leave those regions and take shelter in the hills of the desert.

Durgadas now planned to conduct Akbar to the Marathaland, where after Sivaji's death Sambhuji had ascended the throne, with a view to soliciting Sambhuji's help in Akbar's cause. Sambhuji gave asylum to Durgadas and Akbar and exerted himself to secure co-operation of some other Hindu princes, particularly that of Jaypur, in the cause of Akbar, but ultimately all these efforts proved futile and Akbar left for Persia never to return. He left a son and a daughter, who were too young to be able to stand the journey, in charge of Durgadas, and Durgadas made all possible arrangements for bringing them up and educating them as good Muslims. In course of time, Durgadas went so far as to bring a qualified Muslim mistress from Ajmer to teach Quran to Akbar's daughter.

After devastating Marwar, Aurangzeb attacked Mewar; the Maharana found it necessary to take refuge in the Aravali hills and was besieged by the Mughal troops on both sides. Then death came to relieve him of further humiliation. His son considered it prudent to conclude a treaty of peace with Aurangzeb. According to the terms of this treaty the Maharana would not be bound to pay any tribute or render any military help to the Emperor and he would not be bound to

attend the Emperor's Court. But he would cede a part of the Mewar territory to the Emperor in turn for non-payment of any tribute and not rendering any military help to the Emperor. The war of the Rajput states with Aurangeb now ceased except in the case of Marwar, where guerilla warfare continued to be carried on under the direction of Durgadas; it ended only after Aurangeb's death, when the next Emperor acknowledged Ajit Singha as the Chief of Marwar.

"The outstanding result of these operations was that Rajputna as a whole ceased to be a recruiting ground for the Mughal army. Some of the Chiefs continued to render loyal service to the Emperor, but others were openly hostile, and others again were at the most likewarm, there were thus fewer Rajput troopers to be had for the war in the South." ('Moreland & Chatterjee, A short history of India,' P. 254).

(5) *Aurangeb and the Sikhs.*

We have reviewed the history of the Sikhs during the reigns of Jehangir and Shahá Jahan. When Aurangeb ascended the throne Hara Rai was the Guru of the Sikhs. During his time and that of his son and sureessor Guru Harakiron the Sikhs had no conflict with the Mughals ; but the power of the Sikhs as a martial community had been steadily increasing.

After Harakiran the ninth Guru Tegh Bahadur at first established friendly relations with Aurangzeb and in pursuance of the friendly relations he organised a Sikh Corps to co-operate with Aurangzeb's general Mir Jumla in his expedition against Assam.

But this co-operation did not last long. Guru Tegh Bahadur felt constrained to protest against Aurangzeb's anti-Hindu measures and came to be treated as a rebel. He was accused of having instigated the Kashmiri Hindus to revolt and brought as a prisoner to Aurangzeb, who asked him to embrace Islam or be prepared for death. Guru Tegh Bahadur refused to renounce his faith and was executed (1675).

Guru Tegh Bahadur's execution deeply agitated the Sikh community and taking advantage of this disaffection the tenth Guru Gobinda Singha completed the process of militarisation of the Sikh community which had been initiated by Guru Haragovind.

Guru Gobinda Singha was the last Guru of the Sikhs; after his death the powers of the Guru were vested in the Khalsa, the directing organisation of the Sikhs.

Guru Gobinda Singha died a year after Aurangzeb's death.

(6) *Aurangzeb and the rise of the Marathas under Sivaji.*

We have seen that Sivaji's activities towards establishment of an independent Hindu state over Maharashtra took a definite shape and direction during Shahá Jahan's reign. After Aurangzeb's accession, Sivaji carried on an inconclusive war with the Mughals for some time. But in 1664 Aurangzeb sent Raja Jay Singha to deal with Sivaji. Jay Singht succeeded in this task, and in 1665, by the treaty of Purandar, Sivaji acknowledged vassalage of the Emperor.

Sivaji was then prevailed upon to attend the Emperor's Court at Agra; he felt insulted at the treatment received at the Court and came away in such a manner as indicated disrespect to the Emperor. Aurangzeb was enraged and put him into prison. Sivaji managed to escape from the prison by a stratagem, returned to Maharashtra in safety and renewed hostilities against the Mughals in 1670.

Aurangzeb now asked Jay Singha to arrest Netaji, a relation of Sivaji who was in Mughal service in the south, and send him to the capital. Netaji had to embrace Islam, with his whole family, in order to save his life. He subsequently managed to flee to Maharashtra and after a purification ceremony went back into the fold of the Hindu society.

In the course of three years Sivaji succeeded in annexing large areas out of the Mughal territory, and in 1674 he crowned himself as the king of Maharashtra.

In 1677 he carried on extensive plundering raids in the Madras country and occupied a number of forts, including the surrounding regions, one of which was Ginjee. It is necessary to consider the object that motivated Sivaji's plundering raids. The Maratha country was poor and the state revenue was insufficient for maintaining an effective army. Consequently many of Sivaji's military operations were financial in character; he twice plundered the Mughal sea-port of Surat in order to secure funds necessary for running the Maratha state, and his raids into the Madras region were rendered necessary by the financial needs of the state. Out of these raids Sivaji evolved a financial arrangement which is known by the name of *Chouth*. In those Mughal regions which Sivaji was in a position to raid periodically, he offered to the authorities the choice of paying him one-fourth of their revenue-realizations and thus secure immunity from the Maratha raids, and the authorities in question invariably accepted this arrangement. The importance of the *Chouth* may be judged from the fact that at the time of Sivaji's death it was equal to the regular annual revenues of the kingdom. (Moreland &

Chatterjee, 'A short history of India', P.P. 257—258).

Sivaji died in 1680 and was succeeded by his son Sambhuji. It was at this time that Durgadas along with Prince Akbar arrived in Maharashtra, got asylum there and persuaded Sambhuji to take up their cause. It was at this juncture that Aurangzeb had to leave the North and establish his headquarters in the South and he never returned to the capital.

Before entering into a discussion of the events of Sambhuji's reign it will be well to attempt an estimate of Sivaji's work. The view once held by some historians that Sivaji was merely a successful robber can be rejected summarily in view of the facts that are now available. A state cannot be built by a mere robber; that is the work of a statesman. That Sivaji succeeded in building a state is a proof that he was a statesman. Since 1193 when Prithiraja was defeated at the battle of Taraori, for a period of 500 years, the Muslims had been continually on the conquering path and subjugating the Hindus in the North and in the South. For a time the rise of Vijaynagar raised hopes in the minds of the Hindus but those hopes were shattered at Talikot in 1565. In this situation without any outside help and depending on his own poor resources Sivaji ventured to launch a struggle against the powerful Mughal empire

and the Bijapur state; and in 14 years he succeeded in establishing an independent state and crowning himself as a Chhatrapati. "Therefore there can be no denying the fact that he was, as the Greeks would have called him, a king among men—one endowed with the divine gift of genius."

"Sivaji was the greatest constructive genius of mediaeval India." Ramdas Swami said "Sivarajas attra vaben kirtirupena." ('The House of Sivaji', Sir J. N. Sarkar, P.P. 112—116).

On Sambhuji's accession his Court and the kingdom became torn by conflict among factions. Sambhuji had adopted the *Tantric* creed which had been imported into Maharashtra from Bengal. This creed had influenced even Sivaji to such an extent that he had crowned himself a second time according to *Tantric* requirements. Sambhuji became a complete adherent of the *Tantric* faith and chose his ministers and high officials from amongst the *Tantrics*. His Prime Minister Kavi-Kalash was a North-Indian *Tantric* Brahmin. The Maharashtrian Brahmans were generally of the Vaidic sect. They hated the *Tantrics*, and because of monopolisation of power by the latter a struggle arose between the two creeds. A conspiracy was formed by the Vaidic Brahmans under the leadership of the old and discharged Peshwa to handover Sambhuji to the Mughals to be dealt with by them as they liked.

Kavi-Kalash had a palace at Sangameshwar on the bank of the Manganga. There Sambhuji went to bathe in the sacred water of the river. In the evening he was indulging in pleasures, when his enemies, the Vaidic conspirators, conducted a body of Mughal troops to the place. Sambhuji had not taken many troops there, so he and his family could be seized by the Mughals without meeting serious resistance. What happened afterwards may be gathered from the account of the Muslim Chronicler, which has been translated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

“Kavi-Kalash (and) Sambhuji with his family of 26 men and women and 25 of Sambhuji's followers with their wives and daughters were made prisoners. The low fellow Sambhuji and Kavi-Kalash were dragged to the elephant on which Muquarrah Khan (the Mughal general) was seated ... These women were also dragged by their hair, with their heads bound together, to the feet of Muquarrah Khan's elephant. They were then taken away chained on elephants and horses. From the 4th mile before the camp, (on Aurangeb's orders) Sambhuji was made an object of ridicule and his comrades were clad in the dress of buffoons ... mounted on camels and led to the camp and Imperial Durbar with drums beating and trumpets pealing ... so that the Muslims might be encouraged and

the infidels disheartened by the sight. Sambhuji (on the Emperor's orders) was blinded by driving nails into his eyes... the tongue of Kabi-Kulush was cut out. ... Sambhuji was taken to the place of execution and his limbs were hacked off one after another (11th March, 1689). His severed head was publicly exposed from Aurangabad to Burhanpur and then taken to Delhi and hung up on the gate of that city." ('The House of Sivaji', Sir J. N. Sarkar, P.P. 228—234).

"His capital Raigarh was captured (19th October, 1689) and his entire family—mother and step-mothers, wives, daughters and sons were made prisoners by the Mughals. His eldest son Sahu was brought up at the Imperial Court in gilded fetters." ('Anecdotes of Aurangzeb', Sir J. N. Sarkar, P.P. 15—16).

Rajaram the younger brother of Sambhuji now ascended the throne of Maharashtra and, for safety, established his headquarters at Ginjee in the Madras region, to which reference has been made in connection with the discussion of Sivaji's raids and conquests in that region. The important happening at this stage was that the Maratha generals independently, each on his own account, without looking to the new king, started guerilla warfare against the Mughals in the South. Of these Maratha Commanders two names have be-

come famous—Dhanaji Jadav and Santaji Ghurpure

“In the long history of Aurangeb’s struggle with the Marathas after the sun of Maratha royalty had set in the red cloud of Sambhuji’s blood, and the people’s war had begun, two stars of dazzling brilliance filled the Deccan firmament for nearly a decade and paralysed the alien invader ... They were Dhanaji Jadav and Santaji Ghurpure (and latterly Nimaji Scindia, who dealt heavy blows at some important Mughal detachments” (*‘Anecdotes of Aurangeb’, Sir J. N. Sarkar, P.P. 77—78*).

Aurangeb first paid attention to the Maratha stronghold of Ginjee (in the Madras region), in which Rajaram had established himself. After seven years of fighting the Mughals succeeded in capturing the fort. Rajaram fled and reached Maharashtra in safety, but one of his wives and two daughters, who had been left in the fort, were seized by the Mughals and became prisoners in Aurangeb’s camp.

Subsequently Aurangeb gave one daughter of Sambhuji and the two daughters of Rajaram in marriage to Muslims. Compare this action of Aurangeb with the manner in which Durgadas brought up and aduated Prince Akbar’s daughter and son. When they were made over to Aurangeb, through the mediation of the historian Iswar-

b/ das at Aurangzeb's earnest solicitation, Akbar's daughter fore testimony to Aurangzeb to the effect that Durgadas had educated them on strictly Islamic lines.

"Aurangzeb having thus cleared the eastern theatre of war settled down to systematic reduction of the forts with which the Maratha country was thickly studded.

From 1699 to 1705 he pursued this object conducting all operations in person. The story of his efforts is pitiful. After a long siege a fort would be captured, often by bribing the commander; then the Emperor would move to the next fort; his last capture would be recovered by the Marathas, and things would go on as before ..." (Moreland & Chatterjee, 'A short history of India', P.P. 258—259).

Aurangzeb fell ill in 1705 and took up residence at Ahmednagar where he died in 1707. Thus his efforts of 27 years for subduing the Marathas proved a failure.

While Aurangzeb had been moving from fort to fort Rajaram died in 1700 and one of his minor sons ascended the throne under the regency of his mother Tara Bai.

"The final failure of Aurangzeb was due to the energy and administrative genius of this lady, who succeeded in restoring some degree of unity among the Marathas, and directed the conduct of

both civil and military affairs.” (Moreland and Chatterjee, ‘A short history of India’, P. 259).

“The supreme guiding force in Maharashtra now (after Rajaram’s death) was not any minister but the Dowager Maharani Tara Bai. Her administrative genius and strength of character saved the nation in the awful crisis which threatened it with Rajaram’s death.... The hostile Muslim historian Kafi Khan is constrained to call her wise, enterprising, expert in administration and popular with the army.” (‘History of Aurangzeb’. Vol. V., Sir J. N. Sarkar, P.P. 135—137, P.P. 199—201).

After Aurangzeb’s death the Mughals released Sahu after 20 years captivity, with a view to frustrating Tara Bai’s efforts towards consolidating the central authority of the Maratha state; for Sahu would certainly claim the throne and thus a crisis would again overtake Maraharashtra so as to render Mughal conquest easy. What the Mughals had expected to happen in Maharashtra, on Sahu’s arrival there, did actually happen, but they could not take advantage of it because of the quarrels among Aurangzeb’s sons on the question of succession.

(6) *Results of Aurangzeb’s wars.*

(a) Devastation in the South.

“The material waste caused to the empire by

his quarter century of warfare (in the South) was frightful.

The desolation of the Deccan was complete. As a contemporary European observer wrote, Aurangzeb withdrew after his Maharashtra campaign to Ahmdnagar leaving behind fields of these provinces devoid of trees and bare of crops, their place being taken by bones of men and beasts. Instead of verdure all is bleak and barren. The country is so entirely depopulated that neither fire nor light can be found in the course of three or four days' journey. There have died in his armies one hundred thousand souls yearly, of animals, pack oxen, camels etc. over three hundred thousand. In the Deccan provinces from 1702 to 1704 plague and famine prevailed. In these two years there expired over two millions of souls." ('History of Aurangzeb, Vol. V, Sir J. N. Sarkar, P.P. 215—217).

(b) Financial ruin : Murshid Kuli Khan's help from Bengal.

Aurangzeb's wars on the one hand caused an enormous increase in the state expenditures, on the other hand because of the desolation of large areas that resulted there was a heavy fall in the revenues. Consequently arrears took place in the payment of salaries of officials and particularly of the remuneration of troops, and there was an outbreak of rebellions among the latter.

At this juncture Murshid Kuli Khan, the Subedar of Bengal, helped Aurangzeb by exploiting the zemindars of Bengal. He made a heavy increase in the revenue-dues of the zemindars with a view to saving the bankrupt empire of Aurangzeb. The burden was too heavy for many zemindars; so they often failed to pay their dues in full or at the right time. In order to punish them Murshid Kuli caused a pit to be filled with filth, to which the Muslims gave the name 'Baikuntha', and the defaulting zemindars used to be dragged into it.

"During the closing years of his reign the revenues of Bengal regularly sent by Murshid Kuli Khan was the sole support of the Emperor's household and its arrival was looked forward to." ('History of Aurangzeb', Vol. V, Sir J. N. Sarkar, P. 16).

It is said that Murshid Kuli had been born in a Brahmin family and in his early age sold as slave to a Muslim merchant, who converted him to Islam.

(7) *Official corruption.*

The extent to which Aurangzeb's officers were prone to acquire private fortunes from bribes can be realised at a glance from the following instances.

—Abdur Nabi, Fouzdar of Mathera, left a fortune of 13 lakhs of rupees, 93,000 mahars (worth

Rs. 14 each) and articles, jewels etc. worth $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs more.

—Azam Khan Koka (Fidai Khan), Subedar of Bengal, amassed 12 lakhs of rupees and 1,12,000 mahars.

—Hafiz Mahammad Amin, Subedar of Guzerat, came into possession of 70 lakhs of rupees, 1,35,000 mahars, 76 elephants, 432 horses, 117 camels and 10 chests of Chinaware.

—Abdul Waheb, Chief Qazi for 16 years, acquired 33 lakhs of rupees besides jewellery.

(‘History of Aurangzeb’, Vol. V, Sir J. N. Sarkar, P. 467).

(8) *Administrative breakdown: Horrible situation at the capital.*

When Aurangzeb transferred his headquarters to the South there happened a complete administrative breakdown in the North. Even in the capital city there was no law and order.

“The Prime Minister’s grandson, Mirza Tapakhir, used to sally forth from his mansion in Delhi with his ruffians, plunder the shops in the bazar, kidnap Hindu women passing through the public streets in litters or going to the river, and dishonour them. And yet there was no judge to punish him, no police to prevent such crime. Every time such an occurrence was brought to the notice of the Emperor by the news letters or

official reports, he referred it to the Prime Minister and did nothing more. At last after a Hindu artillery man's wife had been forceably abducted and his comrades threatened mutiny Aurangeb merely ordered the licentious youth to be prevented from coming out of his mansion."

(‘History of Aurangeb’, Vol. V, Sir J. N. Sarkar, P. 458).

CHAPTER V

THE LATER MARATHAS

(a) *The 'Burgi' horrors in Bengal.*

"... The discipline maintained by Shivaji had been strict, and even in his most violent raids women had been protected; (but in the days of the later Marathas) in Bengal, we read of murder and mutilation, of arson and rape practised indiscriminately and without restraint. A contemporary description speaks of the Marathas as 'slayers of pregnant women, and infants, of Brahmans and the poor, fierce in spirit, expert in robbing the property of every one and in committing every sinful act. They slay the unarmed, the poor, women and children. They rob all property and abduct chaste wives'. Other accounts tell of cutting off ears, noses and hands, of women ravished by the members of a gang one after another, of houses and temples wantonly burnt; Bengal was terror-stricken and safety could be found only in flight or within the lines by which the settlement in Calcutta had been hastily protected."

(Moreland and Chatttrjee, 'A short history of India', P. 269; 'Bihar and Orissa during the fall of the Mughal Empire', Sir J. N. Sarkar).

(b) *Inhuman oppression in Uttar Pradesh by Mahadji Scindia's officers.*

“There are some indications that life and property were somewhat more secure in the Maratha territory than elsewhere (in the 18th century), but outside its limits the Marathas were the greatest danger of all; their activities in Bengal... might be repeated in any other region which they were in a position to raid. An Indian account (G. S. Sardesai's ‘Main Currents of Maratha history’, P.P. 178—180) of what is now the western portion of the United Provinces, written about the year 1788, tells of the inhuman measures taken to extract money from the peasants in a period of famine by the officers of Mahadji Scindia who then dominated that region. One of his tax collectors, we read, ‘tied rags to the bodies of rich and poor alike and, pouring oil on them, set them on fire... Crowded rows of men are seen streaming from one place to another in search of food. Famine and robbery have enhanced their agony, and a third evil, viz., Mahadji's tax collectors, has now been added to the other two. In Rajputna, again, the Marathas were a terror to the chiefs and peasants alike, and the enmity between these fighting races was destined to be an important factor in the extension of the Company's territories.’ (Moreland & Chatterjee, ‘A short history of India’, P.P. 281—282).

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India under Muslim rule

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